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Dr. KSHANIKA SAHA, M.A., D.Phil. (C.U.)

Diploma in Chinese Language (C.U.), Research Associate—Centre of Advanced Study in the Department of Ancient Indian History & Culture (C.U.)

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BUDDHISM AND BUDDHIST LITERATURE IN CENTRAL ASIA

To

My venerable professor

DR. NALINAKSHA DUTT

This humble tribute

of

high esteem & reverence

FOREWORD

It gives me much pleasure to write a few words in appreciation of the excellent work done by Dr. Miss Kshanika Saha who has dealt with a subject, in which spade-work was done by the late savant Dr. P. C. Bagchi in course of his preparation of the "Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine".

In the early century of Christian era Central Asia (including Eastern Turkestan), though a desert had a few oases where grew up Buddhist monasteries, in which resided not only the local tribal monks but also Indian monks hailing mostly from Gandhara and Kashmir along with a few monks of Western India. The cultural colonisation of Central Asia took place during the reign of the Kushanas. Emperor Kaniṣka was the most enlightened ruler. He espoused the cause of Buddhism and helped the propagation of the religion in Gandhara, of which Taxila was the most important centre, where were built several monasteries for the residence of the Buddhist monks. The remains of temples and monasteries have been described in detail by Sir John Marshall in his book on Taxila. It was at Kaniṣka's instance that Buddhism was propagated and popularised in Gandhara, Kashmir and as far as Central Asia. What Emperor Aśoka did for establishing Buddhism all over India and in Ceylon, Emperor Kaniṣka did the same for the countries extending from Gandhara to Central Asia.

It was from Central Asia that Buddhism was carried by the Indian monks on one side to China, wherefrom it passed on to Korea, Japan, and the other side to Tibet and Mongolia including the Buriats and Kalmuks of the Russian empire. Hence Buddhism became one day an all East Asiatic religion and this was effected not by military power but by love of culture and firm faith in the teachings of Bhagavan Buddha.

By far the best contribution, I should state that Dr. Saha's exhaustive accounts of the Buddhist literature discovered in Central Asia (including Eastern Turkestan) written in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Kuchean, Khotanese and other dialects. She has also laid under contribution the documents discovered at Niya, Endere and Loulan.

Nalinaksha Dutt

PREFACE

The present work which contains an account, as far as possible of Buddhism and Buddhist Literature in Central Asia, is divided into four chapters.

The first Chapter is a study of the geographical and topographical account of Central Asia with reference to two trade routes between India and China through Central Asia. They have been described here on the basis of the itinerary of Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang and the accounts of European archæologists.

The second Chapter deals with the history of the introduction of Buddhism to Central Asia by Indian monks. This was effected by the adventurous missionaries of Kashmir and Gandhara. The materials at our disposal are indeed scanty in this respect. Traditions and Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions which are the main sources have been fully taken into account here. Biographies of the monks who are foremost in introducing Buddhism in Central Asia have also been added.

The third Chapter deals with the Manuscript Remains in Central Asia. These manuscriptfinds reveal that the literary activities were carried on by the Indian, Parthian and local monks. Translations were made not only in Chinese but also in the local dialects mainly for the benefit of the different tribes living there. These manuscript fragments discovered there range from the early Āgamas and Vinaya texts to the latest Mahāyānic, Tantric and medical works. Hoernle's Manuscript Remains as also Oriental Journals and European publications have been fully used. Here is also given an account of the late documents discovered at Niya, Lou-lan and Endere.

The fourth Chapter, the concluding chapter discusses the Monastic system in Central Asia. It is shown that monks in Central Asia in later days took interest more in secular

matters than in ecclesiastical affairs. Pali, Buddhist Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese texts and Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions have also been taken into account.

I express my heartfelt gratitude to my old and venerable Professor Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt who inspired me with all possible help including the Foreword which introduces the book.

Lastly, I must thank my younger sister Manika and my little niece Sagarika for their help in preparing the index.

Kshanika Saha

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CHAPTER 1

GEOGRAPHICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF CENTRAL ASIA

Central Asia is an extensive region extending from Persia and Bactria to the western border of China, bounded on the north by the T'ien-Shan (天山) and on the south by Kashmir, Tibet and Kun-lun range. Though the area is quite large, it is more or less a desert with oases here and there, where various tribes settled down from time to time. To speak of Buddhism in Central Asia, it is necessary to indicate the small and scattered habitable regions wherein Buddhism was propagated, and perhaps, established for a few centuries. It is, therefore, necessary that a geographical and topographical account should be first given to point out the habitable areas, within which Buddhism was confined in a vast country like Central Asia. An attempt has been made in this chapter to give an idea of the places, which became actually the centres of Buddhism.

Central Asia includes the regions now known as Russian Turkestan and Chinese Turkestan along with the adjoining areas. The term 'Central Asia' denotes the Tarim basin without rigidly excluding the neighbouring countries such as the Oxus region and Badakshan"[1]. The Central belt of the dead heart of Asia consists of a series of elevated and drainageless basins stretched out in east and west. The countries lie between 36° and 43° northern latitude and 73° and 92° longitude east of Greenwich. Their northern limit is well-defined by the big rampart of the T'ien-Shan i.e., "the celestial mountain", on the south they are separated from the high plateau of Tibet by the Kun-lun range. On the west there is the first great meridional mountain chain, the Imaos, on the east it adjoins the Chinese Empire—the eastern border of the region may be placed where the Nanshan forms the watershed towards the drainage area of the Pacific Ocean.[2]

The Tarim basin is a pear-shaped area about 900 miles from east to west. Its greatest width from Kucha in the north to the foot of the Kun-lun glacis south of Niya is not less than about 300 miles. On the west, north and east, lies the central waste i.e., Taklamakan desert which is bounded by the belt of vegetation along the Tizna, Yarkand and Tarim rivers. On the south is a line of oases, mostly small stretches along the foot of the glacis of the Kun-lun which continues eastwards by the patches of sandy jungles watered by small streams. All the cultivated areas along the southern margin of the desert are the 'terminal oases' and they occupy the furthermost ground to which water from the rivers of Kun-lun can be brought for irrigation.[3]

The only habitable parts of the basin appear as mere specks in the great expanse of the whole basin. The areas left between the Taklamakan and the encircling mountain ranges to the north, south and west have geographically so much in common that they might be treated as one region. There are two clearly marked belts of Oases :—

i) the western and northern marginal arc and
ii) the southern marginal arc.

The cultivable areas within the western and northern belts are considerably larger than the other areas. The western and northern arcs contain the important Oases of Kashgar (Ka-sha 佉沙) Yarkand (che-ku-ka 斫句迦) Kucha (Ku-chih 屈支) and Karashahr (Yen-ki 閼耆). The southern marginal arc stretching along the foot of the Kun-lun has only one well-known Oasis, Khotan (Ku-Sa-ta-na 瞿薩旦那).

Owing to uniform aridity of the climate and comparatively small variation in altitude, all the important Oases lie between 3,300 and 4,500 feet above the sea level.[4] But all the Oases are strikingly similar in respect of their general features.

Kashgar (Ka-Sha 佉沙)[5] : It lies on the west of the Tarim basin. It is a commercial city of Chinese Turkestan with a population of about 80,000. The rivers of Kashgar flow 500 metres in E. Turkestan to Yarkand. Kashgar had different names at different periods. The form Kashgar is found in Muslim works. The name Su-leh is found in Chinese Buddhist texts. Hiuen-Tsang described this country as about 5,000 li in circuit with 'many sandheaps and little fertile soil. It used to yield good crops and had a luxuriance of fruits and flowers. It produced fine woollen stuffs and fine woven rugs.[6]

Kucha (Ku-Chih 屈支): The town of Kucha lies between Kashgar and Turfan, somewhat to the west of Karashahr. Hiuen-Tsang tells us that from Yen-Ki he went southwest above 200 li, crossed a hill and two large rivers west to a plain and after travelling above 700 li from that he came to Ku-Chih country. This country was above 1000 li from east to west and 600 li from north to south, its capital being 17 or 18 li in circuit. From Hiuen-Tsang's itinerary we learn that Kucha was abounding in millet, wheat, rice, grapes, pears, plums, peaches and apricots. It had also gold, copper, iron, ore and tin.[7]

Unlike other Oases Kucha abounds in rivers. The prominent among them Muz-art-darya[8] and Kucha-darya debouch close together from the T'ien-Shan foot-hills. Muz-art-darya by far the larger of the two, is fed mainly from the glaciers which descend from the Khan-tengri mountains the highest in the whole T'ien-Shan range. It may be that is why Kucha is more fertile than other Oases.

Yarkand : (Che-Ku-ka 斫句迦) : Hiuen-Tsang describes this country and its capital as being about 1,000 li and 10 li in circumference respectively. It had natural barriers and on its south east at a distance of about 500 li across the Sita river was situated Kashgar, wherefrom Hiuen-Tsang reached this country. Hiuen-Tsang's Che-Ku-ka (Yarkand) is apparently the So-Ku of the Han period and Che-ku-p'o of the later times. So-ku is placed 1000 li west of Khotan and 900 li south of Kashgar.[10]

Karashahr (Yen-Ki 焉耆) : Hiuen-Tsang called this country A-K'i-ni ; this is above 600 li from east to west and 400 li from north to south, its capital being 6 or 7 li in circuit.[11] Along with the northern belt of Oases, Karashahr was a Oasis which at the extreme north-eastern corner of the Tarim basin. It is divided from the plains of the Tarim by the westernmost hill range of Kuruk-tagh, which encircles it on the south. A considerable portion of its area is occupied by the large fresh water of Baghrash-Kol. In this lake is collected the water brought down by the Karashahr river from the high plateaus of the Central T'ien-Shan. An abundant water supply and an apparently less arid climate aford opportunities for extensive cultivation there.

Khotan : (Ku-Su-ta-na 瞿薩旦那) : In the southern marginal belt of the basin, stretching along the foot of the Kun-lun from Karghalik to the Lop tract, conditions differ in various ways. Here exists only one Oasis of real importance, viz. Khotan, and the rest in most cases are separated from one another by considerable expanse of the desert. It was known to the ancient Chinese writers as Yu-t'ien. In Buddhist

traditions it is believed that Khotan was colonised by Indians from north western India in the time of Aśoka. The son of Aśoka, Kunāla was the Viceroy at Taxila. As he was the eldest prince, he was to succeed to the throne. But his step-mother was highly jealous of him and could not tolerate the idea, and he was ultimately blinded through her machinations. Kunāla's courtiers and followers, infuriated by this inhuman act of the queen, left the country with the blind prince, went to Khotan and set him up as the king of the newly founded kingdom. We know that there was an intimate relation between North-western India and Khotan in the Kushan period. Ancient documents coming from the Khotan region testify to the early existence of a ruling dynasty of Indian origin.[12]

The Oasis of Khotan has from early times been the largest and the most important cultivated territory in the south of the Tarim basin. The Oasis owes its natural wealth and importance entirely to its geographical position. The fertile loess which it occupies extends for an unbroken length of 40 miles along the foot of the outer hills of the Kun-lun range and is at all times assured of ample irrigation from the Yurung-kash and Karashahr rivers. In the south the Oasis is bordered by a mountainous region, which in some respects, is more barren and forbidding than the desert itself.

Cotton, wheat, rice, millet, oats and Indian corn are the main agricultural products. Cotton production being the largest in the area. Indian corn is being grown almost everywhere as a second crop. Fruit trees abound all over the Oasis. The mining of oriental jade might well be mentioned among the industrial occupation of the Khotanese. Silk is another important product of this country. Paper making was a speciality of the people of Khotan. It is manufactured exclusively from the bark of mulberry tree.

Unlike other Oases of the Tarim basin where urban life is concentrated in a single town, Khotan possesses three centres which may be designated as towns, viz. Khotan or Ilchi,

Yurungkash and Karakshash. In size as also for their commercial importance these three towns do not differ widely. But as the seat of local administration Ilchi occupies the first place and hence is given the general designation of Khotan.

Fa-hien writes "it was a pleasant and prosperous kingdom with a flourishing population living in widely scattered groups of homesteads, which in Khotan as in other Oases constitute the villages."[13]

According to Hiuen-Tsang the country is about 4000 li in circuit, the greater part of which is full of sand gravel, the cultivable land is very limited. The latter is suitable for the cultivation of cereals and produces abundance of fruits.[14]

Excepting Khotan the Oases of the southern belt are "terminal Oases" i.e. they occupy the furthest ground where water reaches from the Kun-lun for cultivation. Their location is primarily determined by the presence of fertile loess soil, which owes its existence to the moisture which brought thereby the summer floods. 'Terminal Oases', we find are open to change their position and extent in different times.

The last of the regions comprised within the Tarim basin is the terminal depression of Lop, the smallest in extent and particularly well-defined. It may be appropriately described as containing the terminal course of the Tarim with its fringe of lagoons, the marshes in which its waters are finally lost. In accordance with the traditional application of the name itself of very ancient origin, east of the Tarim's final course, is an outlier of the Taklamakan desert.

Apart from the people in these tiny Oases and the survivors of the scanty nomadic population of Lopliks (Lop people), the whole region is now wholly uninhabited.[15]

Lou-Lan (Na-fo-p'o 納縛波) : It lies to the east of Khotan. Its northern limit was the barren hills of Kuruk-Tagh, Taklamakan in the west ; terminal basin of Su-ho-lo-

in the east; the ranges Altin-tagh an eastern extension of K'un-lun in the south. Lou-Lan stands close to the lake lop-nor.

From Fa-Hsien's itinerary we learn that Lou-Lan was 150 miles from Tun-huang. According to him Shan-Shan or Lou-Lan was rugged and hilly with a thin and barren soil. The King professed Buddhism and there were in the kingdom more than 4,000 monks who were all students of Hīnayāna.[16]

According to Hiuen-Tsang, "to the east of Niya", it was all desert. About 400 li to the cast it was the old Tu-ho-lo country. About 600 li further to the East, the pilgrim visited Che-mo-ta-na,[17] old country with Nie-mo "a land with lofty city walls without an inhabitant." About 1,000 li to the north-east was the old country of Na-fo-po."

In the Han Annals the name of Lou-Lan is given as Shan-Shan. The Chinese name Na-fo-po given by Hiuen-Tsang seems to be the same as Nob of the Tibetan documents. Shan-Shan is a pure Chinese name to replace the old local name of Lou-Lan. Lou-Lan was evidently a Chinese transcription of the original name of Kroraina found in the Kharoṣṭhi documents.

The Chinese Annals give a fairly detailed account of ancient Kroraina. At the time of former Hans, the country was known as Lou-Lan, but the name was changed by the Chinese into Shan-Shan. The neighbouring territories such as Tsuo-mo (Cherchen) Ching-Chuch (Niya) were all the dependencies of the State of Shan-Shan.

In the Kharoṣṭhi documents occur the names of the following five kings of a dynasty which reigned in Kroraina in the 3rd century A.D. They are Pepiya, Tajaka, Amgoka, Mahiri and Vasmana. They used the royal titles of the Kushanas, such as Mahārāja, Rāyatirāya and Devaputra etc.[18]

Niyā (Ni-jang 尼壤): It lay on the extreme edge of the kingdom of Khotan, which being in the height

of its power, extended its dominion upto Ni-jang (present Niya) in the east. In his description of the country, east of Pima Hiuen-Tsang records that he crossed a sandy desert and after a journey of about 200 li he came to the town of Ni-jang. According to him this city is about 3 or 4 li in circuit and the soil of the country was warm and soft. There were no roads or paths leading to the city.[19]

Turfan (Kao-chang 高昌). Though it lies to the north of Lop depression quite detached from the Tarim basin, it bears many of its physical features making it appear as its small reproduction. It is enclosed in the north by a snowy portion of the T'ien-Shan and in the south and east by barren hills and plateaus of Kuruk-tagh.[20]

ROUTES

There were only two routes issuing out of Tun-huang and passing across the Tarim basin ended in the western lands. There was a third route from Srinagar to Gilgit and thence to Kashgar. The civilisation of Central Asia upto about the 10th century was derived mainly from India and Iran. It is for this reason the region has been described by some scholars as "Indo-European oasis" while Stein preferred the name Ser-India.[21] The justification for this name is its civilisation, shared predominantly by both China and India. The routes through which this country received its culture and civilisation are well-known as Silk-route and Gilgit Transport route.

TWO SILK-ROUTES

From very early times important trade routes passed through the Tarim basin from the frontiers of China to the west. These became known as the Silk-routes during the

first few centuries of the Christian era, as traders carrying on trade by this route made a profitable business in Chinese silk with the Roman countries in the west. There are two routes passing through the Tarim basin from the frontiers of China upto Balkh. From about the first century A.D. they were used not only for trade between the west and China but also for the dissemination of Buddhist culture from the west to the Tarim basin and China, for which reason, in course of time they came to be known as the "*Buddhist-routes*" till about the 11th century.

The two principal routes parted from Tun-huang in the province of Kansu : one passed by the gate of Yu-men-kuan towards the north-west and the other by that of Yang-kuan directly toward the Tun-huang. Tun-huang played a great part through these two routes in the history of China's cultural and commercial relation with the west. In the 3rd century A.D. it became a great centre of Buddhist missionaries. The vast number of manuscripts deposited in it and discovered mostly by the French archæological mission of Pelliot. The manuscripts were written in diverse languages, such as Kuchean, Khotanese, Syric, Tibetan and Sanskrit. This discovery establishes the fact that Tun-huang was really an important meeting place of China and its western countries.[22]

The northern route passed by Turfan. It followed the Tarim river right upto Kashgar and continued across the Pamir upto the country of Ferganah, Sogdiana and other countries in the valley of Oxus.

The southern route starting from Tun-huang passed by the gate of Yang-kuan and proceeding westward reached the country of Shan-shan (Lou-lan). From Lou-lan it went along the course of the river Tarim upto Yarkand and crossing the Pamir reached the country of the Yue-che (Balkh) and Parthia (Ngan-si).

Hiuen-Tsang in 629 followed the northern route, twenty years later on his way back to China he took the southern route.

GILGIT TRANSPORT ROUTE

The Gilgit transport route was not so easily traversible and hence it was not much used either by the traders or by the Buddhist monks. For certain advantages Stein selected this route from Srinagar through Gilgit and Hunza and over the Taghdumbash Pamir leading to Kashgar.[23]

Hiuen-Tsang followed this route on his way back from India to China. He crossed the Hindukush mountains by the Khawak Pass, and advanced through Khost to Kunduz. He then, instead of taking the northern i.e. the Samarkand route by which he had come travelling in an easternly direction. He negotiated the difficult paths, over and down the mountains and then passed by the Wakhan, and reached Lake Victoria. He then made his way to the Wakhjir Pass along the water shed of the Oxus and Yarkand rivers and proceeded through the Taghdumbash Pamirs to Tashgurkhan. Traversing the foot-tracts on the west of the huge mountain Mustaghata and passing over region Osh (Wu-sha) he reached the plain of Kashgar. Then he followed the well-known route from Kashgar through Yarkand to Khotan.

Chapter I

FOOTNOTES

1. Elliot. *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III, p. 188.
2. A. Stein, *Serindia*, Vol. I, p. 227.
3. S. Hedin, *Central Asia and Tibet*, Vol. I, p. 166.
4. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. I, p. 64.
5. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 290.
6. *Ibid*, p 291.
7. *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 58-61.
8. Darya means river.
9. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, pp. 271, 294.
10. *Loc. cit.*
11. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, pp. 47, 69.
14. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. I, p. 16 ff.

13. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan,* Vol. I, p. 16ff.
14. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang,* Vol. II, p, 271, 295-301.
15. A. Stein, *Serindia,* Vol. I, p. 37 ff.
16. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang,* Vol. II, p. 433.
17. Che-mo-ta-an the original name was Cālmadana.
18. Boyer, Rapson and Senart, Kharosthi Documents. Vol. 3.
19. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang,* Vol. II, p. 304.
20. *Ibid,* Vol. 1, p. 68-71.
21. A. Stein, *Ser-India,* Vol. I, p. 107.
22. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan,* Vol. I, p. 4 ff.
23. A. Stein, *Sand-buried ruins of Khotan,* pp. 60, 72.

CHAPTER II

INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM INTO CENTRAL ASIA BY INDIAN MONKS

From the dawn of history the regions beyond the Himālayas was not unknown to the Indians. As early as the later Vedic period, the Indian writers were cognizant of the peoples living beyond the northern and north-western frontiers of India. In the Atharvaveda the fever 'takman' was washed away from Brahmarsideśa not only to the country of 'Gandharis' but also further beyond, to that of the Bahlikas. Post-vedic tradition records that the Ailas—a body of Aryans, entered into India from the Oxus valley.

In the early Buddhist tradition, repeated mention is made of four continents, viz., Pubbavideha, Aparagoyāna, Uttarakuru and Jumbudvipa. In the Papañcasudanī, it is stated that the people of Pubbavideha settled in the Videharaṭṭha, those of Aparagoyāna in Aparantajanapada and those of Uttarakuru in Kururaṭṭha. Buddhaghoṣa, the great commentator, speaks highly of the advanced culture of the people of the Kururaṭṭha and writes that Buddha found the people of this country as suitable for comprehending his deeper teachings and so he delivered there the Mahānidānasutta and Mahāsatipaṭṭhanasutta of the Dighanikāya, Raṭṭhapalasutta, Sāropamasutta, Magaṇḍiyasutta of Majjhimanikāya.[1]

Three of the four continents evidently belonged to trans-Himālayan region which encompasses the Iran Plateau and the table land of Central Asia.

Besides the Buddhist tradition, there are ancient Sanskrit texts, which show that the Indian compilers were aware of the existence of the peoples of the Central Asia and the neighbouring regions i.e. Cina, Kauśika, Khasa, Bahlika, Tukhara, Pallava, Parata, Śaka and Vokkana.[2]

The Puranic accounts attach importance to the foreign

dynasties that ruled in India after the fall of the Imperial Andhras. There will be kings belonging to the lineage of their vassals : 7 Andhras, 10 Abhiras also 7 Gardabhins, 18 Śakas, Yavanas, 14 Tusaras, 13 Murandas and 11 Hunas.[3]

From the above it appears that the countries beyond the Himālayas maintained their contact with India and vice-versa. It seems that before the actual introduction of Buddhism in Central Asia in Kushan period there were not only commercial but also cultural contact between India and the countries beyond the Himālayas where lived both migratory and non-migratory tribes. A brief account of these migratory tribes is as follows :—

Nomadic movement in Central Asia

From very early times Central Asia was divided into two zones : one migratory and the other non-migratory. The northern steppes from South Russia constituted the migratory or nomadic to the south of which region lay the zone occupied by non-migratory i.e. sedentary people. It included the oases of Eastern Turkestan.[4] The region from South Russia upto the valley Ienessei was occupied by the nomadic hordes, one of which were the Scythians, who according to Mcgovern and others belonged to the Aryan stock. The earliest information about the Scythians is found in the account of Herodotus and in old Achamenian inscriptions. They were known in India and in Persia as Śakas. In the old Persian inscriptions there are references to the division of the Scythians into three different tribes.

Śakas and Kushanas (Yue-chih 月支 *) in India :*

The Purāṇas record that the Śaka conquerors preceded the Yavanas i.e., the Greeks in India. The Chinese evidence has been relied upon to prove that the Śakas could not have entered into India before the 1st Century B.C.[5]

We learn from T'sien Han Shu that the Hunnish King Chi-yu inflicted a crushing defeat on the Yuch-chihs who

were at that time in the farthest eastern and north eastern parts of Kashgar. One of the Yueh-chih kings was killed and compelled to move to the west and the south.[6]

About the migration of the Yueh-chihs to the west the great historian Rapson writes "In the country of the Ili river the Yueh-chih came upon a tribe called Wu-sun. The Wu-Sun were routed and their king was slain and the Yuch-chihs continued their journey westwards the Issyk-kul lake. On account of the movement of the Yueh-chih and their pressure on the Śaka or Sse as they are called in Chinese, the Śakas reached Kashmir and the Punjab in about 110 B.C. and from there the Śakas started extensive and successful raids in Northern India.[7]

Dr. Lohuizen writes on the basis of the Chinese sources that the great Yueh-chih went towards the west and made themselves masters of Tahsia (Bactria) but the Saiwang (Śakas) went southwards and made themselves masters of Chipin (Kashmir or Kapisa) and those routed followed was the hanging pass or Bolar pass to Kashmir.[8]

Chavannes[9] concluded that "Le Kipin est le Kapisa a l'epoque des Tang, Sir Aurel Stein[10] in his "Ancient Khotan" and Smith[11] in his "Early History of India" have accepted this view.

Tarn thinks that as the Bolar Pass was not easily accessible, the Śakas reached Kabul and not Kashmir.[12]

The Śakas, Tocharis and others formed the mixed tribe and were living in Seistan=Śakastan. They became independent of Parthia between 110 and 80 B.C. The Śaka under the leadership of Moga moved towards the Punjab.

The Yueh-chih on the other hand settled in Bactria. After their settlement in Bactria they broke into five divisions, each of which was ruled by a Chieftain with the title of Yabgu. One of their sub-clans were the Kushans whose Chieftain Kadphises succeeded in gaining a leading position among the other tribal chiefs. He is the founder of the well-known Kushan dynasty. Upto this time Yueh-chih was bounded on

the south by the Hindukush mountains and it was Kujula who first crossed over these mountains and by invading and conquering the Kabul valley secured control over most of the region now known as Afganistan.[13] Shortly afterwards he extended his dominion to the north-western India. He died at the age of 80 and was succeeded by his son Wema Kadphises. He proceeded to invade and conquer the whole of the region watered by the Indus River, which was then in possession of various princes most of whom acknowledged the Parthian supremacy.[14]

Kaṇiṣka was the third in the line. He consolidated the Kushan domain in India. He pushed the Kushan conquests far to the south and east annexing the Ganges valley as far as Beneras. Northwestern India where the Kushan centralised their power was then known as Gandhara.

Unfortunately, none of the contemporary Chinese accounts even mention Kaṇiṣka by name, though the later Chinese Buddhist literature makes frequent mention of Kaṇiṣka. We know, that most of these Buddhist texts were either based or translated from Indian originals hence are less valuable. But according to some European archæologists advanced views in their work to make us feel sure that Kaṇiṣka ruled about the close of the first Century A.D.

The time during which Kaṇiṣka ruled in Northern India is marked by a full development of Buddhism. The political influence of the Kushanas extended far into Central Asia and consequently we find a vivid intercourse between the north-western India and its adjacent countries on the one side and Tarim Valley i.e. Central Asia on the other.

From the tribal movements from Central Asia to India, it is apparent that about 110 B.C. the Śakas which included the Kushanas crossed the Hindukush and entered into Afghanistan where Buddhism had already been spread in the post-Aśokān period. The Aramaic inscription of Aśoka also corroborates the fact that Aśoka propagated the message of Buddha through his Dhamma in the countries west of Afghanistan. It is very

likely that Buddhist missionaries ventured across Hindukush to Central Asian territories to propagate their religion. In later days distinguished monks of Kabul like Buddhayaśas, Punyatrāta and Dharmamitra went to Central Asia and translated Indian works into China.

After the Śakas the Kushanas took the lead in the conquest of Afghanistan and north western India. Kujula Kadphises was the earliest Kushan ruler who came to India as far back as 25 A.D.[15] Sten Konow writes in the introduction of Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum that "Kujula Kadphises seems to have shown favour to Buddhism, we repeatedly find references to Buddhist propaganda carried on by the Yueh-chihs in Chinese sources."

Kujula Kadphises was succeeded by Wima Kadphises who reigned about 78 A.D. In view of the facts mentioned above it is not surprising that the Chinese Emperor Ming-ti should purchase an image of Buddha as early as 62 A.D. from the Central Asian region. Some time after Wima Kadphises demise, Kaniṣka the great Emperor succeeded to the throne. He consolidated his empire from Kashgar and Khotan to Afghanistan and Gandhara, and later extended it upto the Indus region. In the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* it is stated that he extended his dominion upto Eastern India. Kaniṣka had selected Peshwar as his capital. In this city, he built a magnificient monastery and a stūpa which were regarded as wonders of the world of the then age. The ruins of this monastery have been discovered by the Archæological Department. During his reign Taxila grew into an extensive centre of Buddhism with several monasteries, suitable for accommodating more than 2/3 thousand monks. Inscriptions in Mathura has been found an image of Kaniṣka, proving that his dominion extended upto Mathura.

It is well-known that Kaniṣka was closely connected with the Fourth Council which was held in Kuvana near Jālandhara or in Kundalavana in Kashmir under the chairmanship and vice-chairmanship of Pārśva and Vasumitra. From the

Vibhāsās compiled in this Council it is apparent that he encouraged Indian Prākrit and Sanskrit language and therefore it must have during his reign the Indian canonical texts were carried by Buddhist missionaries to Kashgar and Khotan. In the Vibhāsās the doctrines of the Sarvāstivādins were given preference. From this fact it may be inferred that Kaniṣka patronised the Sarvāstivādins and helped the propagation of this school of thought. The Dharmaguptas and Mahīśāsakas probably entered into Central Asia after the Sarvāstivādins. The fragments of Āgamas discovered in Central Asia show that they are mostly from Sarvāstivāda Pīṭaka and a few from the Piṭakas of the Mahīśāsakas and Dharmaguptas. The Sarvāstivādins were later on supplanted in Central Asia by one of their sub-sects, viz., the Mūlasarvāstivādins who became popular in all the centres of Central Asian Buddhism. The information about the state of Buddhism in Central Asia after Kaniṣka can be had only from the records of Fa-hien and Hiuen-tsang who crossed the country in 399/400 A.D. and 629/630 A.D. respectively. Fa-hien commences his journey from Tun-huang and crossed Central Asia in order to reach India while Hiuen-tsang passed through Central Asia at the end of his journey i.e., in 645 A.D. There is an interval of 250 years between the accounts of the two pilgrims : Fa-hien's account of the state of Buddhism is more detailed than that of Hiuen-tsang and he seems to have been more religiously emotional while Hiuen-tsang was more an historian than an enthusiast. A gist of Fa-hien's account supplemented that of Hiuen-tsang is given here.

Lou-lan : Fa-hein reached this place in 17 days after leaving Tun-huang. He found the king of the place to be a follower of Buddhism and the monks residing in the monasteries were Hīnayānists, observing strictly the Vinaya rules. The monks studied Indian texts as well as language. Lou-lan being the last halting station of Hiuen-tsang, this pilgrim states simply that it was situated about 1500 li east of Khotan.

Karashahr : This place was about 15 days journey north-

west of Lou-lan and situated between Lou-lan and Kucha. Fa-hien noticed that the local monks were inhospitable but they were strict followers of Vinaya rules. Hiuen-tsang did not come to this place as he came from Khotan directly to Lou-lan. It became probably an unimportant centre during Hiuen-tsang's time.

Khotan : Fa-hien had a very troublesome journey to this place for about 35 days. He described the country as pleasant and prosperous and its inhabitants were all Buddhists with fondness for religious musical entertainment—a feature observed by Hiuen-tsang also. Fa-hien stayed in the King's spacious Gomati Monastery where he received food and all requisites, and he observed that all monks coming to the monasteries of Khotan were provided with food and other requisites. He stayed here longer than his companions to watch the Chariot Festival, which he described in detail. This festival took place in the 4th month of the year, perhaps at the commencement of the rainy season retreat. In the Chariot was conveyed an image of Buddha flanked by two Bodhisattvas. The king himself in plain dress took part in the pulling-ceremony of the Chariot. Most of the large monasteries celebrated their own Chariot festival. The monks of this place were Mahāyānists. Hiuen-tsang adds the history of the foundation of Khotan by the men of Taxila who were exiled to this place by the Emperor Aśoka as punishment for blinding his son Kunāla. A Chinese warrior prince ultimately became a ruler of the country. He claimed lineage from Vaisravanadeva. Hiuen-tsang refers incidentally to an Arhat called Vairocana and described a few monasteries located in the suburbs of Khotan. One of these monasteries was the Gośṛṅga Vihāra situated in between two peaks near Khotan. This Vihāra has yielded valuable manuscripts written birch-bark in Buddhist Sanskrit but in Khoroṣṭhi characters. One of the manuscripts discovered here is the Bower Manuscript on medical treatment and the other on anthology. This Vihāra was on the route from Gāndhāra to

Central Asia and was located about 13 miles west of Khotan. Hiuen-tsang refers also religious assemblies held at this place, but there is no reference for them in Fa-hien's records.

Yarkand : Fa-hien travelled further westward for 20 days and reached this town. Hiuen-tsang also passed through this country on his way back from Kashgar. Both the pilgrims found the monks of Mahāyānic schools. Fa-hien witnessed here the quinquennial assembly, attended by monks from all quarters. The king and the ministers took interest in these assemblies and made liberal donations.

Kashgar : This place was not on the route of Fa-hien, but it was the first town from which Hiuen-tsang commenced his journey through Central Asia. He found the monasteries of this place with Sarvāstivāda monks who read the scriptures in Indian language without perhaps comprehending them properly.

Turfan : In this place have been discovered several Buddhist manuscript fragments in Sanskrit, Chinese, Iranian, Turkish, Tokharian, Sogdian proving the preponderance of Buddhism in that area.

It is apparent from the accounts of these two noted Chinese pilgrims that Buddhism was well established in Central Asian oases in the 5th 6th/7th Centuries A.D. There were both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna monks. This fact is also corroborated by the finds of manuscripts. It may be inferred from Kaniṣka's enthusiasm for the spread of Buddhism and the existence of monasteries at Balkh and Bamiyan, that Buddhism made its way into Central Asia from the 2nd Century A.D. and was quite popular at Fa-hien's and Hiuen-tsang's time. The finds of manuscripts in the cities of Central Asia as also the documents in Lou-lan prove beyond doubt that Buddhism prevailed in Central Asia from the 2nd Century to the 7th/8th Century A.D.

Buddhist Missionaries of India into Central Asia :

To speak of the introduction of Buddhism in Central Asia,

it is necessary that the life and activities of the Buddhist missionaries of India should be given, who served as the torch bearers of Indian civilisation to Central Asia and China. Unfortunately, the ancient records of India are silent about them. The Chinese historians have handed down to us information of these noble sons of India who through their selfless work had built up a common civilisation for nearly three quarters of the Asiatic continents. Kāśmīr takes the leading part in the transmission of Buddhist traditions to China and Central Asia. We have seen that Kāśmīr attracted scholars from outside. It was to Kāśmīr that Kumārajīva was brought from distant Kucha for higher education in Buddhism.

I. One of the first Kāśmīrian scholars to go to Central Asia and China was *Saṅghabhuti*. The name is given in Chinese transcription as Seng-kia-po-cheng and in translation as Chonghien. He reached China 381 A.D. and translated a number of texts of disciplinary code of the Sarvāstivāda school.[16]

II & III. *Puṇyatrāta* and *Dharmayaśas* have their names associated with the Chinese translations of a number of important texts belonging to the Sarvāstivāda school. Puṇyatrāta's name is given in transcription as Fo-jo-to-lo and in translation as Kong-to-hua. He went to Central Asia and China in the beginning of the 5th Century and translated one work in 400 A.D. in collaboration with Kumārajīva.[16] The Chinese biographers tell us that Dharmayaśas had come in contact with Puṇyatrāta in Kāśmīr at the age of 14. The name is given in transliteration as T'an-mo-ye-she and in translation as Fa-ming or Fa-cheng "New Glory." He left the country at the age of 30 and having travelled in various countries in Central Asia reached China in the period 397-401 A.D. He translated three works into Chinese.[18] Relations between Kucha and Kāśmīr were very close in this period. Among those who had been thus to Kucha the name of Buddhayaśas stands as the foremost. Chinese biographers

have left us a complete account of his activities in Central Asia. He completed his study at the age of 27 when he became a full-fledged monk. He then left Kāśmīr for foreign countries and first came to Su-leh (Kashgar). The king of the country then invited three thousand Buddhist monks on a religious occasion. Yaśa was among them. His appearance and manners are so striking that the king was very much impressed and invited him to live in the palace. At this time Kumārajīva came to Kashgar and met Yaśa. Kumārajīva passed some time there studying the sacred texts with Yaśa and then returned to Kucha. Kucha was then being invaded by the Chinese army. The king of Kucha asked the king of Kashgar for help. But it was too late. Kumārajīva was taken into China as a prisoner. Yaśa remained at Kashgar ten years more and then went to Kucha. From Kucha he wrote a letter to Kumārajīva expressing his desire to join him in the Chinese capital. After a year's stay at Kucha, he left for China and was able to join Kumārajīva at Chang-ngan through the intervention of the Emperor. He worked there with Kumārajīva for some time and himself translated a few works into Chinese. The biographers tell us that he was a man of strong character and refused on all occasions the presents offered by the Emperor on the ground that Buddhist monks had no right to accept such presents.

IV. In this period we hear of another Kāśmīrian scholar who was closely associated with Kumārajīva. This was *Vimalākṣa* who had first gone to Kucha and worked with Kumārajīva. His name is given in transcription as Pi-mo-lo-cha and in translation as Wu-ke-yen.[19] He travelled by the Central Asian route and went to China in the beginning of the 5th century. He translated a number of works himself and also explained the translations made by Kumārajīva.

V. *Dharmamitra* : The name is given in Chinese transliteration as T'an-mo-mi-to and in translation as Fa-Siu "Law Flourishing." He was a Buddhist monk of Kāśmīr who at first travelled in different places in Central Asia and then

went to China in 424 A.D. He went to Nan-king where he resided in the Che-huan-sse (Jetavana Vihāra). He subsequently went to North China where he died in 442, while in the south he translated 12 texts into Chinese.[20]

VI. But other parts of India were also conscious of this great movement which was slowly and steadily bringing the two great countries of Asia, India and China through Central Asia. A number of Indian scholars went to Central Asia and China from Central India (Madhyadeśa). Dharmakṣema was a Central Indian monk. The name is transliterated into Chinese as T'an-mo-chan or T'an-wu-ch'an and translated Fa-feng "Law Prosperity." He was a follower of Mahāyāna Buddhism and at first went to Kāśmīr which was then a great seat of Buddhist learning. He then went to China by the Central Asian route. He was forced to remain at Kue-tsang which was then the Capital of an independent kingdom. He translated 25 texts into Chinese. While attempting to go back to Khotan in 433 without the permission of the local chief he was murdered in the desert.[21]

VII. *Jinagupta* was born in Gandhāra and lived at Puruṣapura which was still a metropolitan city in that period. Jinagupta joined the Buddhist order at an early age with the permission of his parents, retired to the monastery named Mahāvanavihāra and studied with reputed teachers different branches of the sacred love. He went to China in 557 A.D. by the Central Asian route. He reached Chang-ngan in 559 A.D. where he worked till 572 and translated 4 works into Chinese. He was then compelled to leave China on account of political troubles and go to Central Asia.[22] He translated 39 texts.

VIII. Other Indian scholars followed this. The most noted amongst them was *Dharmagupta.* The name is transliterated into Chinese as Ta-mo-kiu-to and translated as Fa-mi "Secret of the Law." He was born of the Lāṭa country and at the age of 23 went to Kanoj where he resided in a monastery named *Kaumudisaṅghārāma* and studied Buddhist

literature under the guidance of able teachers. He heard about the flourishing state of Buddhism in China and decided to go to China. *Dharmagupta* gathered from the merchants information on China. He then crossed the mountains on foot, passed through the countries of Tukhara, Badakshan, and Wakhan. He passed about a year at this latter place and then went to Kashgar. He passed two years in the royal monastery of Kashgar and then took the northern route through Central Asia. This road took him to Kucha where also he had to pass two years with the Buddhist scholars of the locality. All the places through which he passed were flourishing centres of Buddhism. The king of Kucha wanted to keep Dharmagupta at his Capital but the latter anxious to reach China, left Kucha without the knowledge of the king. His route lay through Karashahr, Turfan and Hami. All these places were important centres of Buddhism on the northern route and so Dharmagupta had to pass a year or two at each of these places.[23]

IX. *Dharmacandra* : The name is transliterated into Chinese at Ta-mo-chan-nie-lo and translated as Fa-yue "The Law Moon." He was a Buddhist monk of eastern India and most probably passed some time in Nālandā. He first went to Kucha in Central Asia. From there he went to Chang-ngan in 732 and was presented to the court. He stayed in China till 739 and then left China for going back to his own country. He came to Khotan where he fell ill and died in 743 A.D. He translated one text into Chinese.[24]

X. *Ajitasena* is a Buddhist scholar of Northern India mentioned in Chinese sources as A-che-ta-sien. He had gone upto Kucha which was then the seat of the Chinese administration in Central Asia. He translated there 3 works in the beginning of the 8th century.[25]

XI & XII. *Atigupta* : In Chinese A-ti-kiu-to, a Buddhist scholar of Central India, reached the Chinese capital in 652 A.D. after travelling by the Central Asian route and translated between 653 and 654 A.D. He was assisted by two monks of

Mahābodhi named *Saṅghānanda Mokṣa* and *Kāśyapa* who were then in China.

Bodhiruci : He was a Buddhist teacher of Northern India, went to China by the Central Asian route reaching Lo-yang in 508. The name translated in Chinese sometimes as Tao-lie, sometimes as Kiao-li. He was appointed head of the Buddhist community of seven hundred monks who knew Sanskrit. The famous monastery of Yong-ning-sse was built in 516. Bodhiruci shifted to that place and worked there till 534. He translated 39 texts into Chinese.[26]

XIII. *Prabhākaramitra* : The name is given in Chinese transcription as Po-lo-po-kia-lo-mi-to-lo and in translation as Kuang-che. He was born in a noble family of Central India and converted to Buddhism at an early age. He was educated at Nālandā and later on became a teacher of great repute in that institution. Subsequently he left the country with a number of disciples to carry the message of Buddha to the foreign lands. He went to Central Asia. He translated 3 texts into Chinese.[27]

XIV. *Subhakarasiṃha* : The name is given in transcription as Shu-po-kie-lo-seng-ho and in translation as Shen-wu-wei. He was a Buddhist monk of the Śākya family. He translated 5 works between 716 and 724.[28]

XV. *Upaśūnya* : The name is given in transcription as Yue-po-sho-na. He was a Buddhist monk of Ujjayini who went to North China in 538-39 A.D. He went to Khotan on an imperial mission in 548. He translated in all 6 works.[29]

Contact of Central Asia with China through Buddhism

The Buddhist monks of Central Asia made their way to China from the middle of the second century A.D. The names of a few distinguished monk-translators and a list of their works are found in Chinese accounts and catalogues. These are as follows :

I. *An-shi-kao* hailing from Parthia was the most renowned

of the earliest batch of Buddhist apostles reaching China. Shi-kao was an arsacidan (Ansi) prince who renounced the world giving up his kingdom to his uncle to become a Buddhist monk. He went to China in 148 A.D. and settled in white horse monastery.[30] During his 22 years stay in China at the Loyang Monastery he himself to the introduction of the Buddhist literature in China. He is said to have translated 179 Sanskrit sūtras into Chinese language. Out of these 96 texts are mentioned in one of the most important Chinese catalogues of Buddhist books, *the Kai-yuan-lu* compiled in 730 A.D. while 55 works are mentioned in *Nanjio's catalogue*.[31] All the 179 texts are, however, mentioned by Bagchi in his "Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine."[32] A large section of Shi-kao's works are extracts from the Āgamas, 21 sūtras of Shi-kao with the existing Chinese texts of the Āgamas have been identified by Anesaki.

II. A year or two after *An-shi-kao* i.e. 147 A.D. another monk *Lokakṣema* (Chi-lu-kia-chau) a Śaka of Central Asia went to China. The name of Lokakṣema have mistakably read by Tibetan historians as Culikākṣa. He is responsible for the first Chinese translation of a recension of the Prajñāpāramitā known as Daśasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā. 23 works in 26 fasciculi are mentioned in *Khai-yun-lu* and by Bagchi in his "Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine."[33] Out of 23 works of his, 12 are mentioned in Nanjio's catalogue.[34]

III. The next Central Asian Buddhist, *An Hiuen* went to Lo-yang Monastery in A.D. 181 as a merchant and later on became "the Head Officer of cavalry." In collaboration with Chinese monks he translated *Ugra paripṛcchā* a work of great importance. *An Hiuen's* other work is the *Āgamokta-dvādaśa nidāna sūtra* (Nanjio 1339), which is a treatise on the twelve causes or nidānas explained according to the Āgamas of the Sarvāstivādins.

IV. The Śaka or Yueh-chih monk *Chi-yao*[35] is said to have come from Central Asia. This śaka monk translated eleven sūtras but 10 works are mentioned in the *Khai-yuen-lu.* Two

of his extant translations are from the *Samyuktāgama*. One is a sūtra on the eight characters of a bad horse compared with those of bad man, and the other a sūtra on the three characteristic marks of a good horse (Nanjio col. 661, 662).

V.—VIII. Besides these Central Asian there were two Indian monks *Chu-ta-ti*[36] or *Mahābala* and *Tan-kuo*[37] or *Dhammaphala.* Two others were Sogdian monks *K'ang-kiu*[38] and *K'ang-mong-siang.*[39] 6 works of *K'ang-mong-siang* are mentioned by Prof. Bagchi.[40] These are the following :

1. Kurmanidāna śriphala sūtra (T'chang-pen-ki-king).
2. Nidāna caryā sūtra (Hing-ki-hing-king).
3. Sūtra on Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana's going through the four roads (che-li-fo-mou-lien-yeou-sse-kiu-king).
4. Brahmajāla Sūtra (Fan-kaug-king)
5. Pao-fou-king.
6. Catussatya sūtra (sse-ti-king)

IX. *Kumārajīva* (Kiu-mo-lo-shi) : Kumārajīva was born in Kieu-tsu (Kucha) in the year 343 A.D. when the Emperor Kang-ti of the T'sin Dynasty ruled over China.[41] His grand father came from India and settled down at Kucha. His father Kumārāyana remained an Indian in his mode of life. He went to Kucha and settled there. The Chieftain of the Kucha State had a sister named Jīva, Kumārāyana married her. She gave birth to a child who was named Kumārajīva.

Kumārajīva in his boyhood visited Kāśmīr and several important centres of Buddhist culture in Central Asia with his mother and returned in Kucha in 352 A.D. The fame of the Kuchean monk soon crossed the desert and reached the court of earlier T'sin. Tao-an had spoken of Kumārajīva to Fu-k'ien, the emperor of that dynasty.[42] Fu-k'ien sent an envoy to the Kuchean King for bringing the learned monk to China. But the Kuchean King refused to send the pious monk. The envoy thought himself insulted and thereupon waged war on the Kuchean King. The monk Kumārajīva

was taken prisoner and brought to the Chinese capital chang-an.[43]

The following account of Kumārajīva is given in the Memoirs of Eminent Priests :

"There were two princes of so-che state who wished to be monks. The elder was named Sriyaṇa Bhadra and the younger Sriyana Somo. It is learnt that younger was a great scholar and followed Mahāyāna Buddhism. Kumārajīva sat at his feet and was influenced by him. Somo had explained to him the meaning of sūtra of Anavatapta. From that time Kumārajīva decided to give up his faith in Hīnayāna Buddhism and made up his mind to go deep into *Vaipulya sūtras* and Dvādaśanikāya śāstra.[44]

Kumārajīva came to Chang-an in A.D. 401 and the emperor who was eagerly expecting the monk and made him at once the kuo-shih or Rājyaguru.

According to the Memoirs of Eminent Priests, the number of works translated by Kumārajīva in Chang-an was more than three hundred. Prof. Bagchī[45] mentions 106 works of Kumārajīva. But in Nanjio's Catalogue we find the existence of fifty works of Kumārajīva, namely :

No. 3. Pañcaviṃsasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā
No. 6. Daśasāhaśrikā prajñāpāramitā
No. 10. Vajracchedikā prajñāpāramitā
No. 17. Prajñāpāramitā sūtras on a benevolent king who protects his country.
No. 19. Prajñāpāramitā hṛdayasūtra
No. 23. Paññā paripṛcchā
No. 23. Subāhu Paripṛcchā
No. 40. Sumati darikā paripṛcchā
No. 82. Iśvararāga Bodhisattva sūtra
No. 99. Bodhihṛdaya vyūha sūtra
No. 105. Daśabhūmika sūtra
No. 122. Sūtra of Buddha's last instruction
No. 129. Sarvapuṇya Samuccaya samādhi sūtra

No. 134. Saddharmapuṇḍarika sūtra
No. 137. Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva sāmantamukha parivarta
No. 146. Vimalākīrti nirdeśa
No. 162. Mahādruma kinnarāga paripṛchhā
No. 166. Vasudhārā sūtra
No. 190. Viśeṣa cinta brahma paripṛcchā
No. 200. Sukhavaty amrita vyūha sūtra
No. 205. Maitreya vyākaraṇa
No. 209. Sūtra on Maitreya's becoming Buddha
No. 238. Gayā sūtra
No. 311. Mahāmāyūri vidyārājñī
No. 396. Acintyaprabhāsa nirdesa sūtra
No. 425. Kuśalamūla saṁparigraha
No. 511. Sahasrabuddha nidāna sūtra
No. 627. Sūtra on a paster
No. 672. Sūtra on the lightgood qualities of the sea
No. 720. Dipaṅkaravādaka sūtra
No. 779. Sūtra on the hidden and important law of meditation
No. 1169. Mahāprajñāpāramitā śāstra
No. 1179. Prānyamūla śāstra ṭikā
No. 1180. Daśabhūmi Vibhāsā śāstra
No. 1182. Sūtrālaṃkāra śāstra
No. 1185. Dvādasanikāya śāstra
No. 1188. Ṣaha śāstra
No. 1218. Śāstra on raising the thought towards the Bodhi
No. 1274. Satya siddhi śāstra
No. 1342. Sūtra on the important explanation of the law of meditation
No. 1350. Sūtra on the doctrine of sitting in meditation
No. 1366. Saṃyuktāvadāna sūtra
No. 1373. Abridged law for importance of thinking
No. 1416. Law of the Bodhisattva Aśvaghoṣas
No. 1461. Life of the Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna
No. 1462. Life of the Bodhisattva Deva

FOOTNOTES

1. Buddhaghoṣa, *Papañcasudāni*, Vol. II p. 226.
2. P. C. Bagchi, *India and Central Asia*, p. 119.
3. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kaliage*, p. 72.
4. Mcgovern, *Early Empires of Central Asia*, p. 5.
5. Mcgovern, *Early Empires of Central Asia*, p. 7 ff. S. Chatterjee *Sakas in India.*, pp. 1-2.
6. J. A. 1926 "*un Ancien peuple du Penjeb*, Przyluski.
7. Rapson, *Cambridge History of India*, p. 565.
8. Van Lohuizen, The Scythian period, p. 327.
9. Chavannes, *Documents Sur les Ton-Kine* (Turces), occidentaux p. 336.
10. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Vo. I p. 53.
11. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 251.
12. Tarn, *Creeks and Bactrians in India*, p. 756-
13. Mcgovern, *Early Empires of Central Asia*, p. 250.
14. *Ibid*, p. 253.
15. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, LXII.
16. P. C. Bagchi, *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine Tome I.*, p. 160.
17. *Ibid*, p. 176.
18. *Ibid*, p. 174.
19. *Ibid*, p. 338.
20. *Ibid*, p. 388,
21. *Ibid*, p, 212.
22. *Ibid*, Tome II, p. 446.
23. *Ibid*, Tome II, p. 464.
24. *Ibid*, p. 565.
25. *Ibid*, p. 499.
26. *Ibid*, p. 252.
27. *Ibid*, p. 468.
28. *Ibid*, p. 562.
29. *Ibid*, Tome I, pp. 265, 431.
30. *Ibid*, p. 8.
31. Nanjio. App. II, p. 4.
32. *Ibid*, pp. 13-36.
33. *Ibid*, p. 38.
34. Nanjio App. II, p. 3.
35. P. C. Bagchi. *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine.* Tome I, p. 50, Nanjio App. II, p. 7.
36. Bagchi p. 55, Nanjio App. VI, p. 11.

37. *Ibid*, p. 56, Nanjio App. II, p. 12.
38. *Ibid*, p. 52, Nanjio App. II, p. 8.
39. *Ibid*, p. 53, Nanjio App. II, p. 12.
40. *Ibid*, p. 54.
41. *Op. Cit*, p. 54 ff.
42. Nanjio App. II, p. 59, Bagchi. *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine*, pp. 178-200.
43. J. Nobel, *Central Asia, the connecting link between East and West*, p. 22.
44. *Indo-Chinese Relations*, p. 14.
45. *Ibid*, p. 180.
46. Bagchi, *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine*, Tome I., p. 183.

CHAPTER III

MANUSCRIPT REMAINS IN CENTRAL ASIA

The finds of Buddhist manuscripts in Prakrit, Sanskrit, Uigur, Tokharian, Khotanese, Kuchean, Sogdian and also in other dialects opened up a new chapter in the history of Buddhism and Buddhist literature in India and its neighbouring countries. Prior to these finds our knowledge about Buddhism and Buddhist literature was confined to the manuscripts in Pāli found in Ceylon, Burma and Siam and those in Sanskrit found in Nepal. A long controversy went on among the early European Scholars of Buddhism about the comparative antiquity of the manuscripts discovered in the Southern regions in Pāli and those in Nepal in Sanskrit.

The finds of fragments of Āgamas corresponding to the Nikāyas in Pāli have led the European Scholars like Hoernle,[1] Winternitz[2] and others come to the conclusion that the Āgamas in Sanskrit or Prakrit (Semi Sanskrit) and the Nikāyas in Pāli were derived from the common source, probably composed in a Magadhan dialect, identical or allied the dialect used in Āśoka's Bhabru edict. The Central Asian fragments of Āgamas have been traced in the Chinese Tripiṭaka but there are differences between the originals and their translations. In Tibetan Kanjur and Tanjur, there are no collection under the heading "Āgamas" though there are in them translations of a few texts, which belonged to the Āgamas.[3]

Apart from the Āgamas, in Central Asia have been found a few fragments of the Vinaya texts corresponding to the Vinaya Piṭaka in Pāli. These fragments have also been traced in the Chinese collection of Vinaya texts. In Tibetan there is a complete translations of the Vinaya Piṭaka under the heading "*Dulva.*" The original of the translation is evidently the Vinaya Piṭaka in Sanskrit of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, a substantial portion of which has been found at Gilgit, in

Kashmir, about 200 miles south of Central Asia. The Gilgit manuscript was written in a slanting or upright Gupta script, which is exactly similar to the scripts of the Central Asian manuscripts.

In Chinese, there is an Abhidharma Piṭaka corresponding to the Abhidharma texts of the Sarvāstivādins. These are in substance identical with the contents of the Abhidharma Piṭaka in Pāli but so far no fragment of this Piṭaka has been discovered in Central Asia.

In Central Asia have been found a large number of texts belonging both to the Mahāyāna and Tantrayāna system of Buddhism. The originals of many of these are extant in Nepal and Tibet. A few original manuscripts were procured by Otani from Tibet as also a good number of photographic copies from there were brought by Rāhula Sankrityāyana and deposited in the Jaysawal Institute of Patna. Some of these Mahāyāna and Tantrayāna texts have already been printed and published in India, Japan and Europe.

The manuscripts of Mahāyāna texts found in Central Asia bear marked differences from their counterparts found in Nepal. A comparative study of these two versions, i.e., Central Asian and Nepalese reveals that the manuscript discovered in Central Asia are earlier than those of Nepal and Tibet. This is clearly apparent from the Saddharmapuṇḍarika found in Central Asia and Gilgit and its counterpart in Nepal.[4]

Thus the Central Asian manuscripts may be broadly divided into Hīnayāna, Mahāyāna and Tantrayāna. The Hīnayāna texts in Sanskrit are attributed to the Sarvāstivādins and perhaps to the Dharmaguptas, the two Hīnayāna sects which attained popularity in Central Asia with the advent of Mahāyāna, the manuscripts of this branch of Buddhism represent its earliest form, likewise do the Tantrayāna texts.

Apart from these original Piṭaka texts of Buddhism, there are one or two manuscripts which deal with secular matters, such as medicine, charms and spells to avert evils.

The finds at Lou-lan, Niya and Endere are mostly

inscriptions on leather pieces and wooden tablets. These finds indicate that the monks of a later period, i.e., during the 3rd or 4th Century A.D. took active part in administration of justice, economic and other secular affairs along with the ecclesiastical functions. In the two following chapters will appear a detailed study of the aforesaid matters.

Account of the discovery of manuscripts :

The assiduous work of the archaeologists has unearthed from the desert sands of Central Asia remnants of valuable original texts, which throw a flood of light on the evolution of the Buddhist literature. In 1890, Col. Bower, a British Officer, purchased from the local Turks an extensive birch bark manuscript which was dug out from the sands of Qumtura, a site near Kucha. The manuscript was edited by Hoernle. It is a medical treatise written in Sanskrit in the North Indian (Gupta) script of the 4th Century A.D.

A few years later a French traveller Mr. Dutreuil de Rhins came across two birch bark manuscripts from Khotan. On examination they are found to be a new Prākrit version of the Dhammapada. Its script is Kharoṣṭhi of the 2nd Century A.D. similar to that used in the North-western India of the Kushan period. These two discoveries drew the attention of the archaeologists all over the world. The investigations carried on by Sir Aurel Stein, Von Lecoq, and the famous Sinologist Paul Pelliot yielded the most epoch-making results from the various sites of Eastern Turkestan, viz., Kucha, Khotan, Turfan, Niya and Lou-lan. The results of Stein's investigations were published in a number of volumes entitled Ancient Khotan, Innermost Asia and Ser-India. In 1890 the famous Russian Scholar, Klementz headed an expedition to dig in Turfan. Nor have the Japanese been idle. Count Otani and Tachibana both members of the Japanese Buddhist priesthood especially brought numbers of artistic and literary treasures to Japan. Among the finds of manuscripts, the larger portion is of

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Mahāyāna and Tantrayāna texts but the most remarkable discovery is the lost Sanskrit Buddhist Canon.

Local translations

The literary finds from Central Asia point out that Indian scripts were in use in the different states of Eastern Turkestan. During the first three centuries of the Christian era, Kharoṣṭhi was in use in the Southern States from Khotan upto Kroraina (Lou-lan) in the Lobnor region. There were besides local languages one was spoken in the north, the other in the south. The northern language is called "Tokhari" and the southern "North Aryan". According to Profs. Levi and Sten Konow that the centres of the territories in which the northern and southern languages once prevailed were Kucha and Khotan respectively.[5]

In Kuchean or Tokharian there are translations of Buddhist Sanskrit texts and there are some bi-lingual fragmentary texts Kuchean or Tokharian and Sanskrit or Chinese or Tibetan. There are fragments of Sarvāstivāda Prātimokṣa Sūtra in Kuchean. There are also Kuchean translations of Udānavarga, Udānastotra and Udānalaṁkāra which were very popular with the Buddhists and a very extensive Sanskrit work entitled Karmavibhaṅga.[6] Kuchean translations of medical and Tantric texts have also been studied, identified and published.[7] There is a Kuchean translation of a medical text entitled Yogasataka. It is a work attributed either to Nāgārjuna or to Vararuci. Sanskrit names of drugs are not translated but transliterated with phonetic changes necessary for the adoption in local dialects,[8] e.g. arirak (haritaki) aśvakanta (aśvagandhā). We are told,[9] that Khotanese translations belong to a late period when Hīnayāna Buddhism had practically disappeared from Khotan and Mahāyāna had become predominant. The translations therefore are mostly of Mahāyāna texts. There are fragments of the translations of the Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra, Vajracchedikā, Aparimitāyus sūtra, suraṁgama-samādhisūtra, sudhana-avadāna, Prajñā-

pāramitā, Bhadrakalpikasūtra, Mañjuśri-nairātmya-avatāra sūtra, sumukhasūtra, Aśokāvadāna[10] Avalokitesvara dhāraṇi,[11] Saṁghātasūtra, kanṣikasūtra, sitātapatra dhāraṇi.[12] Khotanese translations of two medical texts viz. Siddhasara and Jivakapustaka have been found.

A few sogdian translations of Buddhist texts have been discovered, e.g., Dīrghanakhasūtra, Vessāntara-Jātaka, Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa, Dhyānasūtra, Dhuta-sūtra, Nilakaṇṭha-dhāraṇi and Padmacintāmaṇi-dhāraṇi-sūtra.

With the establishment of Uigur Empire with its capital in Turfan region in the 9th Century Buddhism found yet another patron in the Turks. They assimilated the entire Buddhist culture prevalent in Central Asia from the Oxus valley upto Karashar, with its literature, religion and art. Tokharian Buddhist texts were translated into Turkish. We have thus translations of Maitreyaśamiti-nāṭaka, Suvarṇaprabhāṣa-sūtra, Jātakas, Sūtra of Kalyāṇaṁkara and Pāpaṁkara etc.

The Āgamas[13] : Among the finds of manuscripts in Central Asia the fragments of the Āgama so far discovered are most probably the oldest. Very likely these Āgamas were carried to Central Asia by monks and traders hailing from Gandhāra and Kāśmīr. It was during Kaniṣkha's reign, a devout follower and patron of Buddhism that the popularity of the Sarvāstivādins reached its climax in the northern and north-western parts of India. The Sarvāstivādins came into being perhaps sometimes before Aśoka's reign. They made their principal centres at Mathurā and Gandhār and other places where they must have compiled the Buddhavacanas in Sanskrit and named them Āgamas instead of Nikāyas adopted by the orthodox Schools of Buddhism. They divided their Āgamas like the Nikāyas into five sections Dīrgha, Madhyama, Saṁyukta, Ekottara and Kṣudraka. But the selection of Sūtras in the different Āgamas was made by them according to their own choice. They also varied, modified and enlarged the Sūtras in their own way. Hence the Āgamas are not

exactly the replicas of the Pāli Nikāyas. Unfortunately none of the Sanskrit Āgamas have been found in India or Nepal. In the Chinese translations we find a complete set of Āgamas which very probably were made from the Sanskrit Āgamas of the Sarvāstivādins or of the Dharmaguptikas, the followers of which had been to Central Asia and established their centres there.

Āgama Literature in China : The Japanese scholars Nanjio,[14] Akanuma[15] and Anesaki[16] have made an exhaustive and analytical[16] studies of the Āgamas and the Nikāyas. They have mentioned that there are four Āgamas such as :

1. Dīrghāgāma, 大阿含 (Ta-ö-han)

2. Madhyamāgāma, 中阿含 (Chong-ö-han)

3. Samyuktāgāma, 雜阿含 (Tsa-ö-han)

4. Ekottarāgāma, 增阿含 (Tsan-ö-han)

In Chinese Dīrghāgama there are 30 Sūtras as against 34 in Pāli. Out of 30, 27 bear the same title as those in Pāli, three sūtras are wanting in Pāli, these sūtras are replaced in Chinese by Ekottarā, Trirāsi and Lokadhātu. Again the Pāli sūtras which are wanting in Chinese collection are No. 6 Mahali No. 7 Jāliya, No. 10 Subha and No. 32 Aṭānāṭīya.

The Chinese Madyamāgama contains 222 sūtras as against 152 of the Pāli Majjhimanikāya. Many sūtras of the Pāli Dīgha, Aṅguttara and Samyuttanikāyas are traceable in Chinese Madhyamāgama. Among the 222 sūtras in the Chinese Madhyamāgama the following different sūtras of Pāli Nikāyas and Vinaya are traceable viz. 99 of Majjhima, 75 of Aṅguttara, 9 of Dīgha, 8 of Samyutta, 5 of Khuddaka,

2 of Vinaya, 1 of Divyāvadāna, and the remaining 23 could not be identified with any sūtras of Pāli. Again out of 152 Pāli sūttas of Majjhimanikāya 98-sūtras are traceable in Chinese Madhyamāgama.[17]

The Chinese Sayuktāgāma is divided into 50 vaggas containing 1502 sūtras while in Pāli the number of Vaggas is only 5 containing as many as 2889 sūtras. Most of the Pāli Sūttas are found in a scattered way in the 50 sections of the Chinese āgamas.[18] Anesaki[19] and Akanuma[20] have traced several sūtras common in the Pāli and Chinese versions. Anesaki has pointed out that the beginning of the different facsiculi have sub-headings of the Pāli Samyuttanikāya have been preserved. These are (i) Sattayatana, (ii) Nidāna, (iii) Sāvaka, (iv) Magga. He has further traced the names of a few more Pāli Vaggas, Khanda, Puggala, Sagātha and Tathāgatavaggas.[21]

In the Chinese Ekottarāgāma was first translated by Dharmanandin who hailed from Tukhāra went Chan-an in 384 A.D., with the assistance of two Chinese monks he completed the translation. In 388 A.D. a monk hailing from Kubhā called Saṅghadeva revised the translation. Hence, extant Chinese version is attributed to Dharmanandin and Saṅghadeva.

The Ekottarāgāma in Chinese is divided into 51 sections, but without any numerical arrangements containing 454 sūtras, while the Aṅguttaranikāya in Pāli is divided into eleven nipātas i.e. sections containing 169 sūtras.

In the Chinese version are found several sūtras of the Majjhima, Dīgha, Samyukta, besides the Aṅguttaranikāya. Anesaki[22] has traced a large number of Pāli sūtras in the Chinese version. Below some of them by way of illustration are mentioned here :

I. Dīgha—No. 2 Sāmaññaphala Sūtra, No. 14 Mahāpadāna, No. Mahāparinibbāna.

II. Majjhima—No. 10 Satipaṭṭhāna, No. 7 Vatthupama,

No. 62 Rāhulavāda, No. 48 Kosambiya, No. 32 Goṣiṅga, No. 35 Saccaka, No. 83 Makhadeva, No. 86 Aṅgulimāla, No. 16 Cetokhila, No. 143 Anāthapiṇḍikavāda.

III. Saṁyutta : 22.1 Nakula, 21.8 Nanda, 3. 2. 10 Aputtaka, 11. 1. 3 Dhajagga, 22. 97 Nakhasikha.

IV. Itivuttaka : 64-65, 44.

V. Theragāthā v. 279.

VI. Mahāvagga : 1. 6 15-20 and 54.

VII. Cullavagga vii 3-4.

In the preface to his edition of the Pāli Aṅguttaranikāya, the editor Rev. Morris, has pointed out that in the different sections of the Aṅguttaranikāya are given scattered extracts from the sūtras of the Dīgha, Majjhima and Saṃyuttanikāyas. It seems that the Aṅguttara or Ekottara, therefore, is to a certain extent a reproduction of the contents of the other three Nikāyas. Rev. Morris has further prepared a list of the same in his introduction to the fifth volume of the edition of the Pāli Text Society. In this list which is not exhaustive we find the following sūtras : Sāmaññaphala, Mahāparinibbāna, Sagāthapunnabhi-sandovagga of Saṁyutta, Itivuttaka, Mahāvagga[23] and Cullavagga[24] of the Vinayapiṭaka.

On a comparison of the lists of Anesaki and Morris, it is apparent that the first compiler of the Aṅguttara or Ekottara compiled the scattered Buddhavacanas in which he found the enumeration of certain qualities, virtues, meritorious and demeritorious acts, spiritual practices and acquisitions, duties of monks and house-holders, and so forth and classified them in his numerical sections according to the number of items found in each enumeration. While doing so, he is likely to have included a substantial portion of the Buddhavacanas preceding and following the enumeration. From the Chinese version, it appears that its source was one of such enlarged compilation while in Pāli version, attention was given primarily to the items enumerated and eliminating as far as possible the introductory and concluding passages. Evidently, the earliest Aṅguttara compilation was more prolific than the

later ones, compiled in Päli or Sanskrit. Anesaki also thinks that the source of the Chinese version was a compilation, not of the Sarvāstivādins but of a sub-sect of the Mahāsaṅghikas, who compiled their Tripiṭaka in a manner different from their rival sects, the Theravāda group. No fragment of the Ekottaragāma has been discovered in Central Asia, but according to the Chinese tradition, the first translator of this āgama was a Tokharian monk, who must have utilised the source, which was in his possession. It is, therefore, likely that in Central Asia existed the original of the Chinese version.

Āgama translations in Tibetan :

There is no complete copy of the Āgamas preserved in Tibetan like that of the Chinese, but only a few sūtras were translated into Tibetan. These are as follows :

1) Dīgha-Mahāsamaya Sūtta 20—hDus-Pa chen-pohi mdo.
2) Dīgha-Brahmajālasūtta 1—Tshans-pohi-Dra-bahi mdo.
3) Dīgha-Āṭānāṭiya Sūtta 32—Lcan-lo-can-gyi pho-brangi mdo.
4) Majjhima-Karmavibhaṅgasūtta 35—Las Rnam-par hByed-pa mdo.
5) Majjhima-Bahudhātuka 115—Khams-Man po-pahi mdo.
6) Majjhima-Mahaśunyatāsūtta 12-1mdo Chen-po ston-pa nid ces-bya ba.
7) Samyutta-Tathāgatenavutta 56 11-12—Chos-Kyi hKor-lo Rab-tu-bskar-bahi mdo.
8) Samyutta-Dharmacakrapravartana Sūtta 56. 11-12—Chos-Kyi hKor-lbhi mdo.
9) Samyutta-Candimā-Zla—bahi-mdo.
10) Samyutta-Suriyo No 2.1.10—Mahi mdo.
11) Samyutta-Ārya Kusalajñanahṛdaya hphags dge-bahi b ces-quen-pahi mdo.
12) Samyutta-Mahādhvajasūtra—mdo chen-po Rgyal-mtshan Dam-pa shes-bya-ba.

13) Majjhima-Aṅgulimāla Sūtra 86—h phags-pa sor mohi phreu-ba-la-phan-pa shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen pohi mdo.

14) Samyutta-Daharo 3.1.1—Gshon-nu-dpehi mdo.

15) Aṅguttara-Giri 60—Rihi-Kun-dgah-bohi mdo.

Early and later Buddhist Sanskrit Texts :

There are no explicit references to the Āgamas in the very early texts like the Mahāvastu and the Lalitavistara. There are, however, in these two texts a few passages of the sūtras which bear a close resemblance to the corresponding passages in the Nikāyas e.g., Kālasūtra, Ratanasūtra, Dhāniyasūtra, Mahāgovinda sūtra (Ariyapariyesanā sutra) Dharmacakrapravartanasūtra and Mahāpuriṣalakṣaṇasūtra. By way of illustration are given below two extracts one from the Mahāvastu and the other from the Majjhimanikāya.

Mahāvastu : "Gambhirā ayam nāma dharmah abhisambuddho nipuṇo sukhumo duranubodho atarkavacāro paṇḍitavedaniya sarvaloka vipratyanika. Ālayarāmo khalu punareyam ālayarato ālayasamudito ālayaramayam ca prajayam ālayaratayam ālayasamuditayam durdasamimam sthānam. Yadidam hetu idampratya pratityasamutpādaḥ sarvapadhipaṭinihesarga purna saṃskāra samathadharma paechedaḥ tṛṣṇā kṣayo vitārago nirodho nirvāṇam ahaṃ ca na paresaṃ desayaṃ pare khu me na vibhavayensuh so me sya vidhatah."[25]

Majjhimanikāya—"Adhigato kho me ayam dhammo gambhiro duddaso duranubodho santo santo paṇito atakkavacaro nipuṇo paṇḍitavedaniya. Ālayarāma kho panayam paja ālayarata ālaya sammudita. Ālayarāmaya kho pane pajaye ālayārataya ālaya sammuditaya duddasam idam thāṇam yadidam sabbasanvhāra samatho subbu padhipaṭinissago taṇhākkhayo virāgo nirodho nibbāṇam."[26]

The time of compilation of the *Divyāvadāna* following closely that of the Mahāvastu-avadāna has been placed by Prof. P. L Vaidya between 200 and 350 A.D. while its Chinese translation was made in 265 A.D. Prof. Winternitz[27] also agrees with the date and prefers the 4th Century A.D. as its date of final

compilation. In the *Divyāvadāna*,[28] there are a few references to the four āgamas[29] in general and to a few texts or suttas in particular. These are as follows : Dīrghāgama, Ekottarikagāma,[30] Udāna, Munigāthā, Sailagāthā, Sthaviragāthā, Mahāparinibbānasūtra, Mahāsudarsanasūtra, Nagaropamasūtra, Dalapaṇḍita sūtra corresponding to Aṅguttaranikāya, Udāna, Munisutta of Suttanipāta, Mahāpariṇibbāna and Mahāsudasana of Dīghanikāya, Bālapaṇḍitasutta of Majjhima (III 9. 163), Mettasutta (Nagaropama) of Khuddakapāṭha.

The compiler of the *Divyāvadāna* collected his stories mostly from the *Vinayapiṭaka* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins to which we shall refer in due course.

In his *sūtralāṃakāra* Aṣanga (4th Cent. A.D.) has referred to the Āgamas in connection with his criticism of the doctrine of momentariness (Kṣanikavāda) of the Sarvāstivādins in two places (pp. 150, 151), e.g., he writes "*āgamena ca*" yad uktam Bhagavata, mayopamas he bhikṣo samṣkāra apāyikas tāvatkalika itvara pratyupṣthayina iti." In continuation of his reputation of Kṣanikavāda, he quotes a line from *Ekottarāgama*, running as follows :— "Yathoktam Bhagavata cittenayam loko niyate cittena parikṛṣyate cittosyotpannasyo pannasya vase vartate iti." Its Pāli version (vide Aṅguttara Vol. II p. 177) is as follows : Cittena kho bhikkhu loko cittena parikissati cittassa uppannassa vasam gacchatiti."

While discussing the absence of soul (Pudgala), Aṣanga refers to two sayings of Buddha, thus *Dharmoddānesu* hi Bhagavata "Sarve dharma Anātmana iti desitam" and Paramārthaśunyatayam "asti Karmasti vipākaḥ kārakas tu nopalabhyate ya imanis ca skandhan nikṣipati anyaṃs ca skandhān pratisandadhati, anyatra dharmasaṃketad iti desitam." In course of discussion of this theme he has also cited the Prajñāsūtra and Bhārahārasūtra (vide p. 159).

From these few quotations it is evident that in the 4th Century A.D. the authority of the āgamas was recognised by the writers belonging to the Mahāyānic schools.

Besides the early texts mentioned above, there are two texts of the 7th Century A.D. viz. Śāntideva's Bodhicāryāvatāra and Yosamitra's Abhidharmakoṣavyākhyā-Sphūṭārtha, which contain extracts from the āgamas, evincing thereby that upto the 7th Century A.D. the Sanskrit āgamas were studied closely by the then writers. In his Bodhicaryāvatāra Śāntideva like Aṣanga has utilised the sālistambhasūtra (vide Bodhicaryāvatāra pp. 386, 576) containing the twelve linked formula of causation (Paṭiccasamuppāda) to establish the non-existence of the phenomenal world, particularly on the passage "yo bhikṣavah pratityasamutpādam paśyati sa dharmam paśyati. Yo dharmam paśyati sa buddhaṃ paśyati." Likewise to establish non-existence of soul he utilised the passage "ye kecid bhikṣavaḥ Sramaṇa vā brāhmaṇa vā atmeti samanupaśyanataḥ samanupaśyanti imanete pañcopadānaskandhāniti."

Śāntideva (p. 508) has quoted in existence the Pitāpùtrasamāgama-sūtra, corresponding to Dhātuvibhaṅgasuttam of Majjhima (III, p. 240) and referred also to the Paramārtha-śunyatāsūtra (See p. 508). Aṣanga and Śāntideva utilises those passages of the āgamas, which presuppose the Mahāyānic views about soul, Karma and Skandhas. Yaśomitra, a sarvāstivādin teacher, has utilised the āgamas, the passage of which supports his views to a large extent. Hence the number of references to the āgamas and extracts therefrom is fairly large. Yaśomitra has specifically referred to the "Caturāgamaḥ," Samyuktāgāma (*Akv.* 473, p. 543), Ekottarāgāma (*Akv.*188) and Kṣudraka (p.33) without the addition of the term āgama. In Yasomitra's vyākhā, the words "Āgamam ānayanti"[31] have been repeatedly mentioned implying thereby the admission of the scriptural authority of the Āgamas. Besides Yaśomitra has also quoted a number of sūtras from the Sanskrit Āgamas. By way of illustration a list of sūtras with their corresponding sūtras of the Nikāyas are given below (see list No. 1). As also a list which show divergences in actual passages though the titles are identical or allied (List No. 2). Apart from these

Yaśomitra refers to a number of sūtras which are not traceable in the Pāli version (List No. 3).

List No. 1 :-

Abhidarmakośa Vyākhyā	*Pāli*
1. Udāyisūtra p. 164-7	1. Samyuttanikāya Udāyisutta Vol. IV-V.
2. Ariyapariyesanāsūtra p. 448-9	2. Ariyapariyesanāsutta (Majjhima Vol. I. p. 168)
3. Brahmajālasūtra p. 300	3. Brahmajālasutta (Dīgha I)
4. Bahudhātukasūtra p. 556	4. Bahudhātukasutta (Majjhima 115)
5. Mahākamma-Vibhaṅga Sūtra p. 447	5. Mahākamma Vibhaṅga sutta (Majjhima 136)
6. Dasttaranāmasūtra p. 590	6. Dasuttara Suttanta (Digha 34)
7. Mahānāmasūtra p. 376-7	7. Mahānāmasutta (Samyutta Vol. V. p. 370-1)
8. Cakravartisūtra p. 145	8. Cakravattisīhanada Suttanta p. 58
9. Dakkhinavibhaṅgasūtra p. 129	9. Dakkhinavibhaṅgasutta, (Majjhimam, p. 255)
10. Aṅgulimālasūtra	10. Aṅgulimālasutta (Majjhima iii p. 255)

List No. 2 :

Abhidharmakośa Vyākhyā	*Pāli*
1. Upāli sūtra p. 379	1. Upāli sutta (Majjhima p. 387)
2. Satpuriṣa p. 270	2. Sappurisa (Majjhima Vol. I, p. 37)
3. Devadutiya sūtra p. 327	3. Devaduta (Majjhima Vol. 3 p. 178)
4. Mahācunda sūtra p. 352	4. Cundasutta (Samyutta Vol. V. p. 161)
5. Nandika sūtra p. 380-81	5. Nandi sutta (Samyutta p. 137 Vol. III)
6. Mārasūtra p. 277	6. Māra (Samyutta Vol. III p. 188)

List No. 3 :

Abhidharmakośa Vyākhyā

1. Sahetusapratyayakarmasūtra p. 523
2. Saṃskṛtalakṣanasūtra p. 288-9
3. Saptasuryodayasūtra p. 710.
4. Saṃcetaṇiyasūtra p. 400.
5. Dasaśaikṣa-dharmasamanvāgatasūtra p. 145.
6. Rupasaṃgrahasūtra p. 352.
7. Vyādhyādisūtra p. 514.
8. Gatisūtra p. 563.
9. Viparyāsasūtra p. 454.
10. Saptasūtrāni p. 275.

In Central Asia, a few fragments of the Āgamas[32] have been discovered. Here is given a brief account of them.

Dirghāgama

Saṁgitisūtra :

The fragments contain an enumeration of different dharmas in Buddhist technical terms, as divided into ten classes according to the number of items which constitute each dharma. It forms the 33rd sūtra of the Dīghanikāya (P.T.S. Vol. III pp. 207-71). The larger part of the fragments X/29, contains a portion of the third or three fold class, i.e., the class which comprises the dharmas, consisting each of three items. The smaller fragments, No. X/25, similarly contains a portion of the fourth or 'fourfold' class. From the parallel transcripts it will be seen that Sanskrit fragments agree with the Pāli version.

	Sanskrit	*Pāli*
(a)	obv. 1.1. rāsi	XXVIII rāsi (Dīghanikāya Vol. III p. 217)
(b)	,, 2-5 tathāgatasya arakṣaniya	XXX tathāgatassa arakkheya (D. Vol. III p. 217)
(c)	,, 6. Pudgala	XXXVI Puggala (D. III p. 218)
(d)	,, 6. Sthavira	XXXVII Thera (D. III p. 218)
(e)	,, 6. Codanavastu	XXXIX Codanavatthu (D. III p. 218)
(f)	,, 6, 7 Agni	XXXII & XXXIII Aggi (D. III p. 217)
(g)	,, 7. Puṇyakriyāvastu	XXXVIII punna-Kiriyavatthu (D. Vol. III p. 218)
(h)	Rev. 1. 1-3 Kāmopatti	X/-Kāmupapatti (D. Vol. III p. 218)
(i)	,, 4-7, Sukhopapatti	X/1 Sukhupapatti (D. Vol. III p. 218)

Fourfold Dharmas (fragments No. X/25)[33]

	Sanskrit	*Pali*
(a)	Obv. 1.1. Apasrayana	VIII, Apassena (Dīgha Vol. III p. 224)
(b)	,, 2. Dharmapada	XXIII, Dhammapadāni (D. Vol. III p. 224)
(c)	,, 3. Sakṣi-Karaniya	XXX, Sacchi Karaniya (D. Vol. III p. 230)
(d)	,, 4. Adhisthana	XXVII, Adhiṭṭhana (D. Vol. III p. 229)
(e)	,, 4. Dharmaskandha	XX, Dhamma-kkhandha (D. Vol. III p. 229)
(f)	,, 5. Dhatu	XVI, Dhatuyo (D. Vol. III p. 228)
(g)	,, 5, 6 Ahara	XVII Ahara (D. Vol. III p. 228)
(h)	,, 6. Vijñāka-sthiti	XVIII, Viññāna-tthitiyo (D. Vol. III p. 228)
(i)	Rev. 1.2, Agati-gamana	XIX, Agati-gamanani (D. Vol. III p. 228)
(j)	,, 3. Prasna-vyākaraṇa	XXVIII, Pañha-vyākaraṇa (D. Vol. III p. 229)
(k)	,, 4. Daksinavisuddhi	XXXIX, Dakkhina-visuddhi (D. Vol. III p. 231)
(l)	,, 5. Saṁgraha vastu	X/, Saṁgaha-vatthune (D. Vol. III p. 232)

(m)	Rev. 6. Yoni	XXXVI, Yoniyo (D. Vol. III p. 230)
(n)	,, 6, 7, Ātma-bhava pratilambha	XXXVIII, Attabhava-patilabha (D. Vol. III p. 231)

In the Chinese version of Dīrghāgama Saṁgiti sūtra is the 9th book, translated by Buddhayaśas[34] and Dānapāla.[35]

Āṭānāṭiya sūtra :

This fragment comprises nearly 45 to 48 syllables and have had a length of about 15″ or 16″ inches. The folio number has disappeared with the left side. There are on either side, six lines of writing in the slanting Gupta characters, but it is specially on the obverse side.

To judge from the occurrence of the word āṭānāṭi (rev. 11, 2 & 4), the text would seem to belong to the Aṭānāṭiya sūtra, which is the 32nd sutta in the Pāli Dīghanikāya. But the extant text differs very materially from the Pali text of the Āṭānāṭiya Suttanta as it is printed P.T.S. edition.[36] In the Chinese Dīrghāgama the Aṭānāṭiya sūtra does not occur at all.

The text of the fragments reads as follows[37] :

Obv.

1. (mo dya mama padau sira) sa vandi (tv a) tatraiv antarh (i) tah udgrhni (dhvam bhikṣa).
2. paryavapn ta yāvad eva anabhi (prasam) nanam vya (danam) yakṣa (nam).
3. avaya i(da)m avocat (Bhaga)vān apta-manas te bhikṣavo bhaga (va).
4. [ma] (h) arajña indro vaisravano (ya) ma-kuberau Dhrtirastrau ca (tra)tarah (sa).
5. ka x [ma] hayakṣo (hi) mavamta-krtalaya jayamto vijayamtas ca (Y)ak(s)as ca.
6. XXXXX r(n)a maha(ka)rno jvali(t)o (da)pya na sa(da) vidyā-vira mahayakṣa.

Translation :

1. ......to-day, having reverenced my feet with his head, he too disappeared there. Keep, 0 ye monks.
2. ......(this charm) and apply it always (for your protection) from ill-disposed, mischievous Yaksas.
3. To......this spake the Blessed one. With receptive minds those monks (welcomed what was said) by the Blessed one.
4. The great rajas, Indra, Vaisravana, Yama, Kubera and Dhritarāshtra the saviours.
5. The great Yaksa who has made his abode in the Himālayas. The victorious and the conquering Yaksa.
6. Mahakarna, the ardent, may he never cause injury, the mighty in magic, the great Yaksa.

Rev.

1. (kah) esa (m) XXXXX (Ksas ta)tha yakṣa-dadh(i) mukha 5 satagiri Himavata yan ca A X
2. X abhaga (rbha)s tesam Āṭānāṭi mahāyaśaḥ yakṣebhyo m abhyanujnatah putranam (j)ivi
3. XX (rpi) presitah sarve Buddha-satv-ahitas tatha 8 Kumbhanda rākṣasa ghora.
4. XXX sada 9 Hṛdayam Aṭānāṭisya Sarva-karma-prasadanah pravartayi

Translation :

1. Among them......also the Yaksa Dadhimukha 5. Satagiri Himavanta and
2. Among them Aṭānāṭi, the much renowned. By the Yakshas favoured of the sons.
3. ...they are sent all also pledged to the truth of the Buddha 8. Kumbhandas, Rākṣasas terrible beings.
4. Always......9. the heart (or essence) of Aṭānāṭi furthering all acts, promoting. ......
5. They are very much agitated ; and may they all, coming together, give me protection always (beings)

living in water. Apalāla the great Naga, Elabhadra, the very powerful.

Madhyamāgāma (chong-a-han-cin)

Upali Sūtra :

This fragment is a comparatively small portion of the original folio, which must have been three times as large. The text is written in āryā verses and we have the corresponding Pāli text to restore the full text of the mutilated verses. The text of the fragment belongs to the upāli sūtra of the Madhyamāgāma. It is the 133rd sūtra of the Chinese translation.[38] In the Pāli text it is the 56th sūtra of the Majjhimanikāya.[39]

The text reads as follows[40] :

Obv.

1. (pti)—prāptasya vyākaraṇeṣu smṛtimato vipaśyasya anabhina [ta]
2. (sya) aprameyasya gambhīrasya mauna-prāptasya-kṣemaṁ-karasya vedi.
3. Upālī 4 Nāgasya prānta śayānasya Kṣīna—Saṁyojanasya mu
4. (ka) sya śakrasya Bhagavatas tasya śrāvaka Upālī 5 Samyag-gatasya.

Rev.

1. Pratipudgalasya atulasya-Saṁgā (tigasya) padakasya Bhagavata.
2. [ru] cirasya niṣkāṁkṣasya prabhāsakarasya-maya rchido by amayasya bha.
3. (pta)sya-Tathāgatasya sugatasya Uttama-pudgalasya amamasya-yas(o).
4. (Pu)rvam avitarkitam avadad Upālī purato nigrantha-pariṣadaḥ varṇaṁ varṇaṁ.

The relation of the Sanskrit version of our fragment to the Pāli version and the Chinese translation may be seen from the subjoined parallel columns.

Chinese	*Sanskrit*	*Pāli*
1 a-c	1 a-c	1 a-c
2 a	2a/Obv. 1/prāptasya vyākaraṇeṣu 1	7a Ariyassa bhāvitattassa pattipattassa veyyākaraṇassa
2 b	2b. smṛtimato Vipaśyasya anabhinata	7b Satīmato vipassissa anabhinatassa no apanatassa
2 c	2c. Bhagavatas tasya śrāvaka Upālī 2 11	7c Anejjassa Vasippattassa Bhagavato tassa sāvako'ham asmi 1
3 a-c	3a-c apparently missed	2 a-c
	8b. Pudgalasya atula	10b. Āhuneyyassa yakkhassa Uttamapuggalassa atulassa.
8c	8c. Saṁgātigasya pada kasya Bhagavatas tasya Śrāvaka Upālī	4c. Saṁgātigassa muttassa Bhagavato tassa sāvako' ham asmi 11

The results of the comparison of the two versions may be summed up as follows. The whole of the third Stanza appears to be missing in the Sanskrit text of the fragment. At the same time the order of these verses differs from that of Pāli version but agrees with the Chinese. Thus Sanskrit 2a and 2b are identical with Pāli 7a and 7b ; similarly Sanskrit 8b and 8c with Pāli 10b and 4c.

Sūka Sūtra :

(Hoernle ms. No. 149X/1 and X/2).[41] These two folios are in an excellent state of preservation. They are complete and the consecutive folios measure about 10 2/5×2 2/5 inches. In the Pāli Majjhimanikāya it corresponds to the 135th sūtra of Cula kamma vibhaṅga.[42]

In the Chinese translation of that Āgama it is the 170th sūtra.[43] The Sūka sūtra explains the doctrine of Karma by way of enumerating a series of good or bad retributive effects, in a future existence, of varieties of human conduct in the present existence. In both respects, wording and sequence, the Sanskrit text accords very closely with the Chinese translation. According to Dr. Watanabe there are five Chinese translation of the Sūtra.[44]

The Sanskrit text is given below in parallel columns with the Pāli :-

Sanskrit	*Pāli*[45]
1. [VII] Śakyāt Kuśala-mūlād vicchandanam alpa Śākyānaṁ pudgalānaṁ paribhavaḥ ime dasa dharmā alpa-śakya	[VII] Idha mānava ekacco itthī va puriso vā issāmanako hoti & c ; so Kammena evaṁ samattena & o, appesakkho hoti, appesakkha-saṁvattanikā esā ; & c.[46]
2. Saṁvartanīyāh (VIII) Daśa dharmā mahāśakya Saṁvartanīyāḥ Katame daśa anirṣyukaḥ parasya lābha-satkāra.	(VIII) Idhapana māṇava ekacco itthī vā puriso vā anissāmanako hoti para-lābha sakkāra-garukāra-mānana-vandana-pūjanāsu na issati na upadussati na issaṁ bandhati, so tena
3. Ślokair āttamanatā parasya kīrti śabda-ślokair āttamanatā-ryatra-pradānam bodhicittotpādaḥ.	kammena evaṁ Samattena evaṁ samādinnena Kāyassa bhedā paraṁ maraṇā sugatim saggaṁ lokaṁ uppajjati ; no ce kāyassa bhedā paraṁ maraṇā sugatiṁ saggaṁ lokaṁ
4. Tathāgata : biṁba-karaṇam mātāpitṛṇāṁ pratyudgamanaṁ āryāṇāṁ pratyudgamanaṁ alpa-śakyāt kusala-mūlād	paccājāyati mahesakkho hoti.[47]

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Saṁyuktāgama (Tsa-ö-han-kin)

Pravāraṇa sūtra:

This is a complete folio in almost perfect condition. It measures 8 × 2 inches. The text of the folio is a portion of the Pravāraṇa sūtra, which is one of the sūtras of the Pāli Saṁyuttanikāya in the Suttapiṭaka.[48] It forms the 7th paragraph of the 8th book called Vaṅgisa thera saṁyuttam. The Pravāraṇa sūtra is found in both Chinese translation of Saṁyukta. The name of the sūtra does not occur in these Chinese texts; but in a verse of resume (uddāna) there is the name of the sūtra clearly as (自念 Tse-nien) which is the accustomed Chinese word for the Sanskrit pravāraṇa.

The Sanskrit text of the fragment is given below in parallel columns with the Pāli.

	Sanskrit	*Pāli*
1.	Sugata pratibhāt(u) te vāgīśa Bhagavān avocat atha āyuṣmāṁ vāgīśas tasyāṁ velāyaṁ gāthaṁ ba	Sugatā ti/paṭibhātu taṁ vāṅgīsati Bhagavā avoca// atha kho āyasmā vaṅgīso Bhagavantaṁ sammukhā sarūpāhi gāthāhi abhitthavi//
2.	bhāṣe//Iha paṁca daśī viśuddhikā samita/ Paṁcaśatāś ca bhikṣavaḥ saṁyojana-ba	Ajja pannarase visuddhiyā bhikkhū pañcasatā samāgatā/ saṁyojana
3.	ndhana/cchidaḥ sarve kṣīṇa bhava maharṣayah/ śuddhā upā sate śuddhaṁ-vipramukta- punar bha	bandhana-cchidā anīghā khīṇa punabbhavā isī//

Candropama Sūtra:

This folio is mutilated, about one-third of its length, on the right side, being broken away. In its present condition it measures 8 × 2 2/5 inches. It contains portions of two sūtras,

one ending on the fifth line of the obverse side, the other which is named the Candropama sūtra, beginning on that one continuing on the reverse. The Candropama sūtra is one of the sūtras of the Saṁyuttanikāya. In the Pāli it is the 3rd sutta of the Kassapa section.[49] In the Chinese Saṁyuktāgāma it occurs in Facs 41, Nanjio No. 544. As may be seen from the subjoined parallel transcripts, the Sanskrit version of the Candropama sūtra is much longer than the Pāli. The relation of the Sanskrit text to the Pāli is shown below[50] :

Sanskrit	*Pāli*
Obv. 1. 5. Evaṁ mayā śrutam ekasmiṁ samaye Bhagavāṁ	Sāvatthiyam
Rājagṛhe viharati Devadattaṁ tabhasatkāra-ślokam.	Viharati
ārabhy bhikṣum amantrayati/ candropama bhikṣavo viharata/nityaṁ navakā iva hrīmantaḥ kuleṣu apragarva avakṛṣya kāyam avakr.	Candupama bhikkhave kulāni upasaṁkamatha/ apakasse-vā kāyam apakasse vā cittaṁ nicca navakā kulesu appagabbhā/
Rev. 1. 1. ṣya cittaṃ kutāny upasaṁkrarṣta/ tadyathā cakṣuṣmām puruṣo jarodapānaṁ va nadīdurgaṁ va parvata-viṣamaṁ vā avakṛṣya kāyam avakṛṣya cittam vyavalokayed evaṁ eva candropamā viharata nityaṁ navakā iva hrīmantaḥ Kule apragalbhā avakṛṣya kāyam avakṛṣya cittaṁ kulāny upasaṁkramata/	Seyyathāpi bhikkhave puriso jarūdapānaṁ vā ālokeyya pabbatao visamaṁ va nadi duggaṃ va apakasse vā kāyam apakasse vā cittaṁ/ evaṁ eva kho bhikkhave candupamā kulāni upasaṁ Kamatha apakasse vā kāyam apakasse vā cittaṁ nicca navakā kulesu appagabbhā/

Śakti Sūtra :

The Śakti sūtra deals with friendly heart. It corresponds to the Satti Sutta which is the fifth of the Opaṃma section of

the Saṁyutta Nikāya (P.T.S., Vol. VI, p. 265 ff). Nothing can be known of this sūtra from Nanjio's catalogue.[51] The Sanskrit version differs from the Pāli.[52]

Pāli	*Sauskrit*
[clause 5] Evam eva kho bhikkhave yassa kassaci mettā cetovimutti bhāvitā bahulikatā yanikata vatthukatā anuṭṭhitā paricitā susamā vaddhā/ Tassa ce'amanusso cittaṁ khipitabbaṁ maññeya	*Obv.* 1. 1. Ye śramaṇa vā brāhmaṇā vā stoka-stokaṁ muhūrta-muhūrtaṁ sarvasatva prānā-bhūteṣu maitram cittam bhāvayeyāḥ... [1-2] Sāṁ so cet kaścid upasaṁkramati vyāḍo vā yakṣo vā amanuṣya vā naivāṣiko vā avatara prekṣī...(1-3)
atha kho svedha amanusso kilamathassa vighātassa bhāgī assa/	raṁ na labhate ālaṁbanaṁ anyatra sa vyāḍo va yakṣo vā amanuṣyo vā naivāsiko vā

Sūtra 25 of the Nidānasaṁyukta :

In the Berlin collection of Sanskrit literary remains from Central Asia there is a manuscript catalogue number S474, which has been identified by Waldschmidt, with the 25 sūtras of the Nidānasaṁyukta, one of the most important parts of the Sanskrit Saṁyuktāgama which corresponds to the Saṁyuttanikāya in Pāli. The greater part of the first 19 leaves of the manuscript has been preserved. The script is of the older Central Asian Brāhmi type. Some of them, especially the first and the last ones are, however, very fragmentary. The text runs as follows[53] :

Folio 18
(Reverse)

10. ... ma ... (ra) ya im/e/bhikṣavo dhar /m/
11. /P/a(1)/o/ (ka)s/ya/Katame Trayas 1
tadyathā vyādhir-jara maraṇaṁ
trayo dharma an/ista a/
... /v/is(y)a/n/tathāga/t/a

Folio 19
(Obverse)

1.	utpatsya ...	praved 1 tasya dha
2.	tasma tath	tah saṁyaksaṁbuddha
3.	mam(s)tr	tm tadyathā ra
	gadvesamoham—	i ma

tama ms tr (m) ta dya (tha satka) etc.

The sūtra 25 of the Nidānasaṁyukta has a close parallel in sūtra 346 of the Tsa-a-han-Ching the translation of saṁyuktāgāma into Chinese by Gunabhadra of the earlier Sung dynasty.[54]

Here is another fragment of Saṁyuktāgāma No. M 476 from the Central Asiatic manuscript remains in Berlin. The fragment was discovered by the third German Turfan Expedition in Murtuq and then registered under number TIII M.140.[55] The text runs as follows :

M 476. Fol. 81

Obverse

1. ... [a]th=(a)sya kamksa vyapayanti sa(rva) [y](a)da prajānāti sahetudharmam [yada] prajānāti sahet [u]///
2. nam=upaiti/4 yada ksayam 0 asravanam=upaiti/5 yada ime pradur=[bh]...//
3. ti sarvalokam suryo yath=abhyu 0 dgata antarikse/6 vidhupayams=tisthati maras[ai] (nyam)///
4. visvabhuk//krakasundah//ka 0 nakamuni kaṣyapah // sravastyam nidan[am]... ///
5. s=tire bodhimule acirabhisaṃbuddhah so=ham yena bodhimulam teno=opasamkranta upe[t](ya)... ///

Reverse

1. dhaya pratimukham smrtim=upasthapya saptaham =ekaparyanken=atinamayami... ///
2. yad=uta asmin=sat=idam bhavaty=a 0 sy=otpadad =idam=utpadyate purvavad=yavat=sa[mu]... ///

3. tthaya tasyam vetayam gatham ba 0 bhase//yada ime pradur=bhavanti dharma purva[v]... ///
4. garam sadbhir=buddhaih prakasaye 0 t prati-samlayanam samadhis=ca saptabuddhasa gita ...///
5. ...[sa]tvanam sthitaye yapan(aya) sa(m)bhavaisinam=anugrahaya[kata]me catvarah kaba[dim]...///

The Sanskrit equivalent of the sūtra is well-known under the name 'Nidāna sūtra' and has a parallel in sūtra 65 entitled Nagaram in the Nidāna saṁyutta of the saṁyuttanikāya.[56]

In view of the evidences cited above, there can be no doubt that the *āgamas* in Sanskrit were in existence and studied in India, Central Asia and China. These *āgamas* were mainly the compilation of the Sarvāstivāda sect which became divided into two branches known as Kāśmīr-vaibhāsikas and Bahirdesaka-vaibhāsikas or the Gandhāra school of vaibhāsikas. It is very likely the latter branch became predominant in Central Asia and probably in China. In any case, both the branches accepted the same *āgamas*, the difference between them being only in the interpretation of the nature of the objects, which had existence in the past, present and future. The original Sarvāstivāda became popular in North India. Aṣanga, Śāntideva and Yaśamitra must have utilised the *Āgamas* of the Sarvāstivādins.

The fifth collection : (Kṣudraka)

There was no fifth āgama corresponding to the Khuddaka-nikāya in Pāli. In the Sanskrit texts including the Mahāvyu-tapatti mention is made of "four āgamas" only. In his spūṭārtha Yośamitra includes Kṣudrakavastu in the Pravacanas Kṣudravastuke pravacanabhāge ye paṭhita, (vide 493). He also refers to a collection called Kṣudrakas[57] (but not Kṣudrā-kagāma) in which he includes "Arthavargiyāni sutrāni". In Chinese also there is no fifth āgama though the several texts of the Khuddakanikāya were translated and collected in a volume. In Central Asia too we get some fragments of

texts corresponding to the texts of the Khuddakanikāya. From these evidences it appears that the "caturāgamas" only were admitted by all schools of "*Buddhavacanas*". All other texts including the Abhidhammapiṭaka and perhaps the Vinayapiṭaka excepting the Pātimokkha sutta were recognised as subsidiary texts compiled by Buddha's disciples but based on his scattered sayings. This is partially corroborated by the statements of Buddhaghoṣa in his introduction to Sumaṅgala-vilāsini. He writes that after the first council the preservation of the Dīghanikāya was entrusted to Ānada, Majjhima to Sāriputta, Saṃyutta to Mahākāśyapa and Aṅguttara to Aniruddha for handing them down through their disciples. Likewise Vinayapiṭaka was entrusted to Upālī for handing it down to his disciples. Buddhaghoṣa does not state that the Khuddakanikāya and Abhidhamma were entrusted to particular disciple. He names the collection of the texts Jātaka, Niddesa and Suttanipāta etc. as "Khuddakagantha". This collection according to the Dīghavāṇakas was assigned to Abhidhammapiṭaka while according to Majjhimavānakas this collection along with Caryāpiṭaka, Avadāna and Buddha-vaṃsa were assigned to the Suttantapiṭaka.

It may, therefore, be assumed that the idea of collecting several texts early and late into the Khuddakanikāya developed long after the collection of four Nikāyas. Anesaki has furnished us with the tradition preserved by the different sects about the Khuddaka collection. The Dharmaguptas, Mahāsaṅghikas and the Mahiśāsakas included the Khuddaka collection in the Suttapiṭaka. The Mahāsaṅghika mentions only the two texts of the Khuddaka namely (1) Itivuttaka and (2) Thera Theri Gāthās. The Mahiśāsakas mentions only the name of Khuddaka while the Dharmaguptas enumerate the following texts in the Khuddaka collection :

1. Jātaka	2. Itivṛttika
3. Nidāna	4. Vaipulya
5. Adbhuta	6. Apadāna

7.	Upadeśa	8.	Udāna
9.	Dharma	10.	Parayāna
11.	Kathāvastu	12.	Āryagāthā.

The texts of the Khuddakanikāya found in the Chinese translations are as follows :

1.	Dharmapada	2.	Itivuttaka
3.	Suttanipāta	4.	Udāna

Some of the texts of the Khuddakanikāya are found in the Vinayapiṭaka and Saṁyuttanikāya of the Sarvāstivādins and the Dharmaguptas. The original texts of the Sthaviragāthā and some Jātaka stories are found in the Mulasarvāstivāda vinaya (vide Gilgit Manuscript, Vol. III), while the Dharmapada in mixed Sanskrit appears in the different places of Mahāvastu[1] and Divyāvadāna[2]. The text of the Khuddakanikāya discovered in Central Asia, are as follows :

Sir A. Stein and Hoernle discovered a portion of the Sanskrit version of Suttanipāta in Central Asia. It is contained in fragments of five consecutive folios, certain portion of Aṭṭhavagga are "very old", containing as they do "some remnants of primitive Buddhism".

The fragments measure about 6×3 inches and are corresponding parts of the middle of their respective folios. The text of that fragment is written in sloka verses ; and that enable us by comparing the surviving Sanskrit text with the full Pāli text. The surviving Sanskrit version corresponds to four suttas of Aṭṭhavagga or the fourth section of the Suttanipāta, which is as follows :

Frag. I	*P.T.S. Edition p. 160*
Obverse	
1.1. madgibhuto visva	[814] Methunam anuyuttassa, etc.
1.2. Prasnam (pr.) stavan mai (thune) hyanu (yukta)	

1.3.	ttan ajnatarthas ca me sravak (a) bhavisya (nt) isuttram padam ca.	
1.4.	(ta) syam velāyam idam arthakavargiyam sutram bhasate sma maithu.	(815) Methunam anuyuttassa mussat evapi sasanam I micca ca patipajjati etam tasmim anariyam
1.5.	Yo nisevate yanam bhr (a) ntam yathaloke hena (mahuh) pṛthagjanam	(816) Eko pubbe caritva na methunam yo nivesati 1 yanam bhantam loke henam ahu puttujjanam.
Reverse		*Pāli*
1.1.	ca sarvbasah sa c-aiva maithune yukto mandava paridr (syste)	(820) Paṇḍito ti samannato eka cariyam adhitthito 1 athapi methune yutto mando va parikissati 1
Frag. II		*P.T.S., p. 161*
Obverse		*Pāli*
1.1.	tya bud (dha) sara	(824) Idh eva
1.2.	ya...buddha (agara) (rinam) pravra (j)	suddhi iti vadiyanti nannesu dhammesu visu
1.3.	su visuddhim ahuh yan ni (sr) tas ta tra (su) bham va da (nto) pra (tyekasa)	dhim ahu 1 yam nissita tattha subham vadana paccekasaccesu puthu- nivittha 1
1.4.	Kama pi sado viga (hya)	(825) Te vedakama parisam vigayha balam dahanti) nithu annamannam 1 vadenti te anna sita kathojjam pasamsakama kusala vadana 1

Reverse	*P.T.S., p. 162*
1.1. Bhumir manatimanam vadate ca mudhah evam hi drstba na vigha (ta)	(830) ya unnahi sassa vighata bhumi manatimanam vadate paneso 1 etam pi disva na vivadayethā na hi tena suddhim kusala vadanti

Frag. III

Obverse

1.1. na (ma ja gama

1.2. idam...(sayyasa) yita rupam

1.3. Sammyaka Sambuddha Sayyasayi taru pam idam ukte eka pārsva

1.4. Kasya patni magandikam parivrajakam etad avocat II Raktasya.

1.5. Raktasya hi Syad avakrata sayya mudhasya sayya sahas (a nupi).

1.6. padisu cakkrani sahasrāni sanabhikāni sanemika (ni)

Reverse

1.1. Magaṇḍikasya parivrājakasya patni
tasyam velāyam gātham bha (sate)

1.2. (drisam) padam athe bhag
(va) n utka sanasabdam ak a
raid a (tha) magaṇḍika.

1.3. ve tayam gāthām bha sa
(te sma) rakto (naro bhavati)
hi (gadha) dasavaro (dvi).

1.4. (r) ivrajakah (bhagavantam)
(gacchantan drs tha ca) dunah

1.5. bhāsate sma II (raktonaro bha)

1.6. (ye) ya 1.

Frag. IV *P.T.S. p. 164*

Obverse

1.1. na (ashista)	
1.2. (tayam)...(arthaka) vargi (yam) gāthām (bhāsita ?) 1	
1.3. Atha bhagavān asmin nidāne asmin pra (Kàrane) a [naym arthot p (a)	
1.4. bahujanyam pṛthusrutam yavad deva manusy (ebhyah) saṁyak (prar th ?)	(836) Etadisan ce ratanam na icchasi narim narindehi bahuhi patthitam I ditthasgatam silāvata nujuvitam bhavupapattin ce vadesi kidisam 11

Reverse

1.1. mando pyaha (m) (o) mu (ha) eva dharm (o) (dr) stad (i) h ai ke p (r) (ati) ya n (t) i Suddhim.	Manne-m-aham momūham eva dhammam diṭṭhiyā eke paccenti suddhim.
1.2. satyamit (y) e (va) deta (brahma) (mrs eti) va kim prava (dethake) na	(843) Saccanti so brahmano kim vadeyya musa ti va so vivadetho kena 1 yasmim samani visaman capi n' atthi sa kena vadam patisam yujeyya

Frag. V

Obverse

1.1. Jagama (tadabra)
1.2. (s) ya sa kramati atha (v) isu
1.3. tamam vr ksamu (lam) nisrtya nisanno di (va vi) haraya

1.4. pasamhrty aikante nyasidat eka
(m nya) vaisala kulam (bhutva) ya

1.5. (samn) hrty aikante nyasidat eka (m)
nyāyena bah bhagavam ste (n anja) lim
pranami

1.6. (pr) cchamo bhavantam gante (maṁ)
kancid eva ppra desa (m) saved avak (a) sam kra.

Reverse

1.1. nistha na prtnannistha na (nu) qhavana gautamo nistha
vadi vayam api ni

1.2. (na) ra nisṭham saṁjana (ti) yaduta Gautamaḥ naiva
(sam) jna (na)

1.3. mah kim maṁjasi va (nistha) Mṛgasivah parivr (a)
jako (nistha)

1.4. hi Parivra (jako) nistha prāpta (h) evam u (kt) e
bhagavam va ni (stha)

1.5. (va) ye (ma) Mṛgasira (a)

1.6. (m ayampa) Mṛgasi (r) am

Prākṛt Dharmapada :

The Dharmapada (Fa-kin 法句) is a valuable treatise dealing with Buddhist morals in verses. M. Petroffsky and J. L. Dutreuil de Rheins discovered ms. of the Dharmapada in the Prākṛt at Khotan. The fragments collected by M. Petroffsky were identified by S. d'Oldenburg, in 1907 while the fragments taken to Paris by Dutreuil de Rheins were noticed in Comptes rendus de l'academie des inscriptions (1898). On the basis of this B. M. Barua and S. N. Mitra published a revised edition in 1921. The mss. though in fragments is regarded by scholars like Senart and Bühler as the earliest Indian mss. so far discovered. The date of the mss. is placed by Bühler and Sten Konow in the first century A.D. while by Lüders in the 3rd Century A.D. All of these scholars

are of the opinion that the text was composed in north west India in a north-western Prākṛt but the mss. was written somewhere near Khotan in Kharoṣṭhi script.

The contents of mss. are briefly indicates here with the number of stanzas given figures within brackets: Magavaga (30), Apramādavaga (25), Citavaga (5), Pusavaga (15), Sahasavaga (17), Panitavaga (10), Balavaga (7), Jarāvaga (25), Suhavaga (20), Tasavaga (7), Bhikhuvaga (40), Brāhmaṇavaga (50).

The Dharmapada in its various recensions was very popular in Central Asia and China. There are four separate Chinese translation, three of which were taken to China from Central Asia. There are (i) (Fa-Kin-Kin 法句經) Dharmapada sutra. This sūtra is composed by Dharmatrāta and translated by Wei-khi-nan, i. e. Vighna in A.D. 224.

ii) Dharmapada-avadāna sūtra (Fa-ku-phi-yu-kin 法句譬喻經) : compiled by Dharmatrāta and translated by Fu-ku together with Fa-li A.D. 290-306 of the western Tsin dynasty. It includes 39 chapters, 68 avadānas or parables, illustrating the teaching of the verses. This is the second of four Chinese versions of the Dharmapada.

iii) Avadana sūtra (Chu-y-ao-keu 出曜經)[58] composed by Bodhisattva Dharmatrāta and translated by Ku-fo-nien (Buddhasmṛti) A.D. 398-99 of the later Tsin dynasty. In the preface of this version it is said Dharmatrāta the maternal uncle of Vasumitra collected 1000 verses in 33 Chapters and called this collection Avadāna sutra (Dharmapada sutra). In A.D. 383 there was a Sramana Saṅghabhuti by name who came to Khan-an the capital of former Tsin dynasty. This is the third of the four Chinese versions of the Dharmapada, with a commentary, and the last Chapter is on Fan-ku or Brahma-Karin,

Udānavarga :

Stein, Grünwedel and Pelliot mission discovered in Central Asia fragments of manuscripts of a Sanskrit text called Udānavarga. Fragments of Stein's collection were published by La Vallee Poussin (*J.R.A.S*, 1912, pp. 356, 377). The whole text of the Pelliot Manuscript was later edited and published by Mr. N. P. Chakravarti (L'Udānavarga Sanskrit). Prof. Pischel was the first to edit portions of this manuscript under the title 'Die Turfan Recensions des Dharmapada'. That manuscript is of a recension of the Dharmapada of which the Tibetan version has been translated by Rockhill under the name of Udānavarga will be evident from the close agreement between the Sanskrit manuscript and the Tibetan versions. In regard to the arrangement of Chapters and the number of verses, as shown in the following table taken from Pischel's edition.

Sanskrit		*Tibetan*	
II	20	II	20
V	27	V	28
VIII	15	VIII	15
XVI	24	XVI	23
XX	22	XX	21
XXIX	57 (66, 65)	XXIX	59
XXX	51 (52)	XXX	53
XXXI	60	XXXI	64

The Udānavarga, written in Sanskrit is similar in contents to the Dharmapada some places the two texts agreeing closely. The collection is attributed to Dharmatrāta (ta-ma-to-lo 達磨怛邏) a famous teacher of the Sarvāstivāda School, who was contemporaneous with Kaniṣka (ka-ni-seka 迦膩色迦) according to Nanjio, it is a compilation of the verses of the Chu-yao kin, third version of Chinese Dharmapada.

Vinaya Piṭaka (Luh-tsān 律藏)

In Central Asia though very small portions of the Vinaya piṭaka have been discovered we can infer from them that there was a Vinayapiṭaka in Central Asia and very likely it was a version either of the Sarvāstivādins or of the Dharmaguptas. In Tibetan there is a liberal translation of the whole of the Vinayapiṭaka of the Mūlasarvāstivādins.[59] A portion of the Sanskrit original has been discovered at Gilgit.[60] It contains the following sections: (i) Pravrajyāvastu, (ii) Poṣadhavastu, (iii) Pravāraṇavastu, (iv) Varṣāvastu, (v) Carmavastu (including Śrona koṭikannāvadāna), (vi) Bhaisajyavastu, (vii) Cīvaravastu, (viii) Kaṭhinavastu, (ix) Kosambakavastu, (x) Karmavastu, (xi) Pāṇḍulohitakavastu, (xi) Pudgalavastu, (xiii) Parivāsikavastu, (xiv) Poṣadhasthāpanavastu, (xv) Saṅghabhedakavastu.

Dr. A. C. Banerjee has furnished us with the following information about Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya in Tibetan. The Tibetan "Dulva" is divided into six parts namely Vinayavastu, Prātimoksa sūtra, Vinayavibhaṅga, Bhikkhuniprātimokṣa sūtra, Vinayakṣudrkavastu and Vinayauttaragrantha. The first part Vinayavastu is divided into 17 sections namely :—(1) Pravrajyā (ii) Poṣadha, (iii) Pravāraṇa, (iv) Varṣa, (v) Bhaisjya, (vi) Cīvara, (vii) Carma, (viii) Kaṭhina, (ix) Kosambiya, (x) Karma, (xi) Pāṇḍulohitaka, (xii) Pudgala, (xiii) Parvārika (xiv) Poṣadhasṭhapana, (xvi) Sayanāsana, (xvi) Adhikarma, (xvii) Saṁghabhedaka. Of these Dr. Banerjee has given a descriptive accounts of the contents of the Pravrajyā, poṣadha carma, cīvara and kosambaka vastus with subdivisions in Chapters viii-xi from the Tibetan sources.

The second part Prātimokṣa sūtra contains eight sections and agrees in substantially with Prātimokṣa sūtra of Central Asia edited by L. Finot. The third part Vinayavibhaṅga like the Suttavibhaṅga of Pāli is an extensive commentary of the 258 of Prātimokṣa.

The fourth part Bhīkkhuni Prātimokṣa sūtra agrees substantially with Pāli Bhikkhuṇi Pātimokkha sūtta with which there is a close agreement of the Central Asian Bhikṣunī Prātimokṣa sūtra of which edited by La Valle's Poussin and Waldschmidt.

The fifth part Vinayavibhaṅga is a short text being a word for word commentary on the rules of Bhikkhuṇī Prātimokṣa.

The sixth part Vinayakṣudrakavastu deals with miscellaneous rules with the daily life of the Bhikkhus may be compared with "Khuddakavatthukhandhaka" of Pāli Cullavagga. It includes the accounts of the first two councils and the Mahāparinirbānasūtra and a fragment of which has been found in Central Asia.

The last part Vinayauttaragrantha corresponding to the Parivārapāṭha of the Pali Vinayapiṭaka and is of a mnemonic index of the contents of the whole Vinayapiṭaka. It contains small treatises.

In Chinese there are translations of the Vinayapiṭaka of the five sects namely (i) Sarvāstivāda in 65 fasciculi translated in 404 A.D. (ii) Mūlasarvāstivāda in 40 fasciculi, (iii) Dharmaguptas in 60 fasciculi translated in 405 A.D., (iv) Mahiśāsakas 30 fasciculi and (v) Mahāsaṅghikas in 46 fasciculi.

Both Fa-Hien and I-tsing were particularly interested in study of the Vinayapiṭaka with the object of introducing the Vinayapiṭaka rules in the Chinese monasteries for improving the morals and behaviour of the Chinese monks. Fa-Hien (5th Century A.D.) writes that he found a copy of the Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya in the Mahāyāna monastery in Central India, perhaps Pāṭaliputra. He further writes that each of the eighteen schools had a Vinaya of its own which agrees substantially but with minor difference here and there. He procured a copy of the Sarvāstivāda vinaya in 6000 or 7000 gāthās. He remarks that this vinaya was followed by the monks of China. He copied out the vinaya texts of the Sarvāstivādins.

The mission of I-tsing (7th Century A.D.)[61] was mainly the study of the vinaya rules and the observance of these rules by the Indian monks. His obseivations on the various aspects of the vinaya code, some of these deal with:—(i) duties of monks towards the elders, (ii) daily life of monks, (iii) mutual duties of teacher and students, (iv) ordination, (v) prohibitory duties imposed on monks, (vi) the uposatha ceremony, (vii) rainy season retreat, (viii) Pravāraṇā, (xi) forms of worship, (x) disposal of the dead monks. I-tsing was very probably followed the vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins.

Of the far redactions of the vinaya in Chinese it is observed that the Dharmaguptavinaya translated 410 to 413 A.D.[62] became very popular in China during the northern Wei dynasty. Learned Chinese scholars of the Tang dynasty not only commented upon the Dharmagupta Vinaya but composed many subsidiary texts.

It is very likely that the Dharmagupta vinaya reached China from Central Asia for a fragment of monastic regulations relating begging of food and meal found in Central Asia agrees according to Hoernle[63] very closely with the Chinees version of the Dharmagupta vinaya corresponding to Cullavagga, Pātimokkha of Pali Vinayapiṭaka.

The Prātimokṣa sutra, however, which have been discovered in Central Asia is attributed by L. Finot. to Sarvāstivāda.[64] Hence it may be inferred from these two finds that both the Sarvāstivāda and Dharmagupta Schools were popular in Central Asia. A brief description of the manuscript fragments of the Vinayapiṭaka found in Central Asia is given below :—

The Vinaya Piṭaka Fragments : (Luh-tsān 律藏)

The Vinayapiṭaka of the Sarvāstivāda is well represented by the fragment of text coming from northern part of Central Asia. Like other canonical literature Vinayapiṭaka was also written in Sanskrit. A complete text of the Prātimokṣa sutra was discovered by the French mission in the ruins of Duldur

Aqur at Kucha. The Prātimokṣa sutra edited by L. Finot on the basis of the manuscript fragments discovered in Central Asia by Pelliot, has a fair affinity with the Pātimokkha sutta of Pali. But there are divergences too :

Sanskrit	*Pāli*
Pārājika	Pārājika
1-4	1-4
Saṁghavasesa	
2. 1-13	1-13
3. Aniyate	
1-2	1-2
4. Nihṣargika	
30	30
5. Pātayantika	
90	92
6. Partidesaniya	
1-4	1-4
7. Śaikṣa	
113	75
8. Adhikarana samatha	
7	7

The total number being 263 in the Sarvāstivāda version and 227 in Pāli. The Sanskrit version also agrees with the Chinese translation of Kumārajīva in 404 A.D.

The Bhikṣunī prātimokṣa of the Sarvāstivāda School has also been discovered by both French and German mission in Turfan and edited by Waldschmidt.[56]

II. Fragments of vinaya texts :

Hoernle[66] has given a list of vinaya fragments found in Central Asia. These are the following :

1. *Monastic regulations* :

The first fragment of monastic rules concerning begging of food. These rules agrees with the 10th Chapter of the

Dharmagupta vinaya. The fragment may be compared with Cullavagga VIII, 4 clauses 3-5, in Vinayapiṭaka (P.T.S., Vol. II, p. 214), the suttavibhanga and the Patimokkha (p. 59 ff).

The second fragments contains regulations regarding bedstead and the carrying of staff and string. It may be compared with Cullavagga V. 24 (Vinayapiṭaka, Vol. II, p. 131-2).

The third fragments deals with the technical terms on initiation.

III. *A fragment of the Sanskrit vinaya (Bhikṣuni karmavacana)*[67] :

The text is interesting as one of the most important parts of the Sanskrit vinaya. The MS. is incomplete; 25 folios have been preserved 3-7, 9-11, 15-31, the folios 5, 7, 10, 11, 13, 15-19 are numbered, the others are damaged at the right hand.

The writing is old. The Ms. is accurately written, corrected and completed in the margin. Some lines are damaged.

Summary of the text :

Fols. 1-2 missing. The text probably began with the request of Mahāprajāpati.

Fol. 3 : Mahāprajāpati prays Bhagavat in order to obtain the admission of women into the order. Negative answer. Ānanda and Bhagavat. Admission of women, the eight Gurudharmas-Ānanda and Mahāprajāpati.

Fol. 8 (missing) : Contained the end of Ānanda report to Mahāprajāpati (the eight Gurudharmas) and a text corresponding to Cullavagga x, i.

Fol. 9 : "Mahāprajāpati, together with five hundred Śākya women, was admitted by accepting the Gurudharmas. As concerns the others...Rules concerning the admission

amongst the upāsikās. Accepting the Refuges and five rules. Making known to the Saṁgha the desire of becoming a pravrajita cutting the hair, bath, robe, ascertaining the sex. Giving the Pravrajyā, giving the rules of a Srāmanerikā.

Fols. 12-14. Missing.

Fol. 15. "Bendiction" of the cloth and the bowl. Designation of the Raho' nusasika (Muktika Jñāpti). Interrogation (in private) concerning the Antarājika dharmas. Declaration of the Raho' nusasika to the Bhikṣunī Saṁgha. Declaration of the "ordination". Jñāpti and Karma by the Karmakārika—Interrogation in presence of the Saṁgha. Concerning the Anatārāyikas Karma in presence of the two-hold Saṁgha (186-21b). Measuring the Shade (21b-22a); ascertaining the season, etc. (22a)- Teaching the Nissayas, the eight Pātaniyas (23b-29b), the eight Gurudharmas (29b-31a), the four Sramanattarakadharmas (31a), the duties towards the Upadhyāyikas.

Folis 32. Missing.

IV. *Fragments of the Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*[68] :

A very important text called Mahāparinirvāṇa *sutra* belonging to the Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya written in Sanskrit has been discovered by the German mission from the ruins of Sorcuq near Turfan. A detailed study of the sūtra has given by Waldschmidt in his book.

Contents of the fragments :

1. Bhagavan tells Ānanda his desire to go to Kuśinagara.
2. Mallas while sitting on the council decided to receive him respectfully in due ceremonies.
3. They prepared the suitable way and decorate it.
4. Buddha reached Prithviśitā.
5. Then he proceeded to Pāvā.
6. Mallas asked Buddha about the powers of the father and mother of the Tathāgata.
7. Puññabala of Tathāgata.

8. Prañjābala of Tathāgata.
9. Ṛddhibalam of Tathāgata.

Puññabalas of Tathāgata

Y (ad v) āsiṣṭha dvīpayoh sattvānam pumyam tad dvidvi (pāpate) a cakravarti n (aḥ puṇyeśu panidhaya śatiman api katam nopaiti) pūrvavad yav (ad upanisada) m api nopai (ti) 1.

Yad vāśiṣṭha cutur (su dvīpesu sattvaham puṇyam tae caturdvi pāpates cakravartinah punyesu paṇidhaya satimam api katam nopaiti purvavad yāvad upaniṣadam (api nopaiti).

Prañjābālām of Tathāgata

Yāvad e (va) vāsiṣṭhā adityah pariharanto diso bhasanta vairocanas tāvat sahasrike loke sahasraṃ can (d) ratnaṃ sahasram) suryanam sahasram sumerunam parvatarājñam sahasram purvavidehanam sahasram godaniyanam sahasram uttarakurunam sahasram Jambudvīpānam sa (hasram catu) mahārājikanam trāyastri (ṃ) śanam (ya) ma n(a) m tusitanam nirmanaratinam parinirmitavasavartinam sahasram brahmalokānām 1 ayam ucyate (sahasrika) s cyūḍiko lokadhatuh 1

49. "Sarvalokasya ya prajñā stha (payi) tva ta tha (ga) tam 1 prajnayah sarip (u) trasya Kalam narghati sadasim Sariputrasamair......Yam) lokah Sadevakas 1 Tathāgatasya prajñāyah kālam narghati[1] sod (asim) II

Ṛddhabalam of Tathāgata

52. Icchatha yūyaṃ vāśisthas tathāgatasyantikāt tathāgatanam arhatam samyakasambuddhan (a) m ṛddhibalam srotum.

56. Ekṣyam vāśisthah samayo vairanya (yam vi) harami nade[2] rapicumandamule 1 tena khalu samayena vairanyagam durbhiksam abhut krcchraḥ kantaro durlabhah piṇḍako yācanakena bhikśavas (ca) tuhabho (janeua) pa (riklamanti) 1 atha maudgalyā-

yano bhiksur yen (a) ham tenopasam krantah 1 Upetya mam idam avocat. Yat ta syadhastat parthivah pranito raisadhatus tad urdhvam karisyāmi yad urdhavam bad a (ohastat).

A comparative study of the Mahaparinirvana sutra with Mahāvagga and Divyāvadāna has given by Waldschmidt.

Central Asian fragments :

Kidrsena bhadantaradhabalena Samanvagat (a arha) ntah Samyak Saṃbuddhah ... eko yam vasisthah samayo vairaṇya (am vi) harami nade rapicundamule, tena khalu samayena vairaṇyāyam durbhikṣam abhut kr cehrah kantaro durlabhah piṇḍako yācakena bhiksavas (ca) Iūha bhojanena pariklamanti atha maadgalyayana bhiksur yena (a) ham tenopasamkrantah. tam enam ev (am vadami avasiham) Maudgal 'yayana ava) sitam maud (ga) lyayan (a)...prith (ivim) parivartayitum.

Pali : Tena Samayena buddha bhagavā verañjana yam viharati nalerupucimanda mule...tena kho pana samayena verakjana dubbhikha hoti...atha kho yasma mahamaggattano yena bhagava tena upasamkami upasavauimitva bhagavantam etad avoca alam moggallana ma te rucci pathavim parivattetum vipallasam pi satta pati labheyyum ti."

It agrees with Mahāvagga and some passages are traceable in the Divyāvadāna and Mahāvastu.

It should be observed that the Mahāparinirvāṇa sutra is an important piece of Pāli Suttapiṭaka. But it included in the Vinayakṣudrakavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, vinaya and saṃyuktavastu of the Chinese vinaya. On a comparison of the contents of the Pāli, Tibetan and Chinese version with the Central Asia there is no question of the great antiquity and importance of this sutra and it was evidently the choice of the sectarian to place it either in the Sūtrapiṭaka or in the vinayapiṭaka. Finot pointed out in his paper that the account of the two councils originally formed a concluding part of the Mahāparinirvāṇa sutra. He is of the opinion that the Theravādins or perhaps the Ceylonese editor separated the

concluding portions of the main texts and put it into the cullavagga as a supplement which the Mūlasarvāstivādins and Chinese maintained its original form and included the whole text in the vinayapiṭaka.

V. *Fragments corresponding to the Mahāvagga of the vinayapiṭaka found in the Stein collection, have been edited by La Valle's Poussin*[68].

The description of the fragments of Kamma given below :

Folios 1-8 : Missing.

Folio 9 : 1. Pañcadasikah parisuddham am āyusman dharaya antarāyikeṣu dharmasu.

2. Parisuddhaṃ ahani poṣatha Karisyāmi śilaskandyasya pāripura

3. Ye evam dvir api trir api // se trivaci posadha // samavahara

4. ... m ... se

Folio 10.

2. Pratigṛhita evaṃ dvir api tri api / se cchanda pārisuddh...

3. Satte etenka ksle // samanvaharayusmam āryasaṁghasya

4. Poṣatha pañcadasi kamamapya=dya raktasan-tenasya bhikṣoh poṣatha.[69]

Fragments of Mahāyāna texts :

According to 'Winternitz' "the Mahāyāna does not possess a cannot of its own, and cannot possess one, for the simple reason that the Mahāyāna does not represent one unified sect."[70] The Buddhist dictionary Mahāvyutpatti mentions 105 separate Mahāyāna texts. Among these 105 texts, nine books are most important which are called "Nine Dharmas", Dharma of "Dharmaparyāya" (religious texts). In Nepal a regular divine service is consecrated to these nine books, a bibliolatry which is characterstic of the Buddhism in Nepal.[72]

The titles of these nine books are Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā, saddharmapuṇḍarika, Lalitavistara, or saddharma-Laṅkāvatāra, Suvarṇaprabhāsa, Gaṇḍavyūha, Tathāgata-gūhyaka or Tathagataguṇajñāna, Samādhirāja and Dasa-bhumiśvara. All these works are called "*Vaipulya sutras.*"

In Central Asia a few fragments of these have been discovered. Here is given a brief accounts of them.

Fragments of Saddharmapuṇḍarika

Saddharmapuṇḍarika is one of the most important text of the early Mahāyāna Buddhism which created devotional fervour not only in India but also in Central Asia, China and Japan.

The main objects of Saddharmapuṇḍarika is to establish that there is only one Yāna, Buddhayāna instead of three known as Srāvakayāna, Pratyekabuddhayāna and Bodhisatt-vayāna. Buddha explains why the three yānas came into vogue. The yāna of Buddha's teaching was actually one but it appeared as three to the various disciples because dharma was comprehended by them in diverse ways. The text attaches a great importance that a person would derive immense merit by reading, writing and propagating this sutra. A reciters or a preacher of this sūtra, called Dharmabhāṇaka has been extolled in an extraordinary degree. In this text more stress has been laid one devotion and worship than on meditation and other practices. Adoration of Buddhas, Avalokiteśvara and Sāmantabhadra Bodhisattvas, stūpas seems to be the keynote of this treatise. The text is mainly devotional avoids philosophical aspects. The philosophical truths of all Mahāyāna text has been taken for granted in this text.

The title of the works Saddharmapuṇḍarika is explained by M. Anesaki as follows :

"The lotus is symbol of purity and perfection because it grows out of mud but is not defiled-just as Buddha is born into the world but lives above the world ; and because its

fruits are said to be ripe when the flower blooms just as the truth preached by Buddha learns immediately the fruit of enlightenment.[73]"

Date of Saddharmapuṇḍarika

According to Winternitz[74] Saddharmapuṇḍarika must have been in existence about 150 A.D. because Nāgārjuna quotes from it. According to P. L. Vaidya "it will not be therefore wrong if we place its date in the 1st century A.D. The nature of the work implies a mature development of Mahāyāna Buddhism, especially in the direction of devotion to Buddha, the cult of relics and image-worship as well as advanced stage of Buddhist art."

Chinese and Tibetan translation of Saddharmapuṇḍarika

According to Nanjio there were eight or nine translations of this text into Chinese, of which three only are available, the earliest (286 A.D.) is of Dharmarakṣa who was a yue-chi born in Kan-su province and was educated in the western region where he learnt as many as 36 different languages and dialects; the next 400-2 A.D., in point of time is of Kumārajīva, the famous Buddhist monk of Kucha, who was taken to China (383 A.D.) where he translated several Buddhist works into Chinese. The third translation (601 A.D.) is of Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta who were Indians and whose translations follow the Nepalese manuscripts.

The saddharmapuṇḍarika is translated into Tibetan by Surendrabodhi and Sna-nam ye-ses-sde (Tohoku Catalogue No. 113).

Modern translations of the work

The first translation of this work in European language is that of the French Scholar E. Burnouf, "Le Lotus de la bonne loi" in French, published in Paris, 1852 and the second, in English, is that of the Dutch Scholar H. Kern "The Lotus of the True Law" published in Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 21, Oxford, 1884.

Fragments of Central Asian Manuscripts of Saddharmapuṇḍarika

A number of fragments of saddharmapuṇḍarika has been discovered in Central Asia and collected by Sir A. Stein, Mr. N. Petrowiski, Count K. Otani.

Kern examined the fragments collected by Petrowiski from Kashgar. About the characteristics of these manuscripts Prof. Kern Writes "it is much more prolix, and in the metrical parts, the verses followed after a different order but the most striking difference is in the language of the prose parts" and there are "more prakritisms and wrongly Sanskritised expressions than those in the Nepalese manuscripts. This last remark of his is substantiated by a list of variants collected from Petrowiski and Nepalese manuscripts (vide preface to his edition).[75]

In Hoernle's manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan there are three fragments of the manuscripts of this text found at Khadalik, one edited by F. W. Thomas and other two by Lūders.

Fragment No. 1

This is a fragment of a folio which is mutilated on both sides. It measures 7-1/10×4-3/5 inches. The writing is in upright Gupta characters and though not elegant. The text of the fragment is given below in parallel columns with the Nepalese manuscripts.

	Central Asian manuscript	*Nepalese manuscript*
1.	nti durgati 22 cari acari janiya nitya kalam vadami satbana tatha tath	(prapata) nti durgatim //22// carim carim jnaniya nitya kalam vadami sattvana tatha tath (aham) katham nu bodhar upanameyam katha Buddhadharmana bhaveya labhinah //

2.	rike sutra Tathagataayu pramana-nirdesa-parivar-tto namah pañcadasama	23 // ity arya-saddharme-puṇḍa) rike dharma-paryaye Tathagat=ayas-pramana parivarto nama pañcadasama (h // Asmin khalu punas Tathagat-ayus-pramana-nirdesa)
3.	bhasiyamane apprameyacam asamkheyeyanam satbanam abhusi	nirdisyamane prameyanam asamkheyanam sattvanam arthah krto bhut / (atha khalu Bhagavan Maitreyam bodhisattvam mahasattvam)

Besides this there are two fragments of Saddharma-puṇḍarika edited by H. Luders in Hoernle's Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature in Eastern Turkestan Nos. 142 and 148 respectively.

Hoernle's Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature in Eastern Turkestan No. 1488A. 22-25.[76]

The fragment consists of four leaves of strong and rather smooth dun-coloured paper measuring 22-1/4×7-1/8 inches. The leaves are perfect, although small holes, apparently due to the corrosive action of the ink, are found in many places. The characters belong to the upright Gupta script of the calligraphic type. The most striking feature of this alphabet is the variety of signs for medial a. A similar variety of forms exists in the case of medial u and u.

The orthography of the fragment calls for few remarks. After r a consonant is never doubled ; nor after rr ni durrlabham 254 a). The short vowel is written instead of the long one in dharmah (253a iii), sunyam (253a iii) and the long vowel instead of the short one in bhadrayam (259a vi). 0 takes the place of an in lakadhato (253 i) and au in the place 0 in bhagavatau (260v).

Hoernle's Manuscript. No. 142 SB. 12[78]

This fragment, one of the smaller of the Hoernle collection, is the right side of a leaf belonging to another manuscript of the Saddharmapuṇḍarika. The preserved portion of the text is found in the beginning of Chapter XXII.

The fragment measuring, 6-7/10×5-1/5 inches, is only about one-third of the whole leaf, as it contains on an average eleven askaras in each line, whereas missing in the beginning of each line. The characters are of the same type as those of the longer fragment, Hoernle's Manuscript No. 148, SA. 22-5, with slight variations here and there. The peculiar sign of the special Khotanese r occurs thrice in the subscript position in obv. 1.5 prrati 1.6 sahasrrebhi, and in rev. 1.6 prradaksi. The text, with that of the Nepalese manuscript opposite runs as follows :

	Hoernle's Manuscript	*Nepalese Manuscript*
1.	tva (sama) dhi labdhah viryam drdham by ara	ayam mama cankrama raja-srestha yasmln maya sthitva samadhi labdhah/viryam drdham ara-bhitam mahavratam parityajitva priyam atma bhavam //
2.	Samkusumita sa sarvasatvapriya	atha khalu Naksatraraja samkusumita (bhijna) sa sarvasattvapriya
3.	Janam Vimaladattam· etad avocat	darsana bodhisattva imam gatham bhasitva tan sva-mata pitarav etad avocat
4.	agato 'rhan samyak-sambuḍdhah tistha	ady=apy amba tata sa bhagavams candra suryavi-mala prabhasasris Tathagato' rham samyak-sambuddha etarhi tistha.

On a comparison of these two versions i.e. Central Asian and Nepalese, it appears that the manuscript in Central Asia were earlier than those of Nepal and Tibet.

Prajñāpāramitā

The importance of the Prajñāpāramitā need not be pointed out in the history of Buddhist literature. Prajñāpāramitās were considered by the Buddhists the most holy and most valuable of all works. Nāgārjuna considered it worthwile to undertake the task of writing a commentary on one of them while Aṣanga and many others devoted much time and energy to comprehend the philosophy embedded in them. The large number of works on Prajñāpāramitās existing in Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan, a list of which is given below :

1) Sanskrit : Satasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā sūtra, edited by Pratap Chandra Ghose, Calcutta. Bibliotheca Indica. 1902 (not completed).

Chinese : Division I 400 fasciculi translated by Hiuen-Tsang (660-663 A. D.) Taisho Tripiṭaka edited by Tokyo No. 220 (1) Vol. V-VI.

Tibetan : Ses-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu phyinpaston phrag-brgya-pa (satasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā) (Tohaku, 8).

2) (Abhisamayalamkaranusarena samsodhita) Pañchaviṁśati sāhasrikā pps. edited by Nalinākṣha Dutt, Calcutta Oriental Series No. XXVIII 1934.

Chinese : Division II translated by Hiuen-Tsang in 78 fasciculi Taisho Tripiṭaka No. 223 Vol. VIII p. 217-424 ; also translated by Dharmarakṣa in 10 fasciculi and by Mokṣala in 20 fasciculi.

Tibetan : Ses......phyin......pa ston phragni su lna (Pañcaviṁsatisāhasrikā pps).

3) Central Asian fragments of Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā and of an unidentified texts edited by Sten Konow in Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India No. 69, Calcutta, 1942.

Chinese : Division III 59 fasciculi translated by Hiuen-Tsang Taisho Tripiṭaka No. 220 (3) Vol VII p. 427-761.

Tibetan : Ses-phyin pa khri—brgyad ston pa (Aṣṭādasasāhasrikā prajñāparamitā). In Tibetan Bksh-hgyur there is a Tibetan text named Ses rab......phyin-pa Khri pa (Dasasāhasrikā prajñāpāṛamitā sūtra)

4) Sanskrit - Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā sūtra edited by R. Mitra Calcutta Bibliotheca Indica 1888. The same Sankrit text is contained in Abhisamayalaṁkāra-aloka, edited by U. Wogihara, Tokyo, 1932-5.

Chinese : 18 fasciculi translated by Hiuen-Tsang, Taisho Tripitaka No. 220 (4) Vol. VII pp. 763-865 : 10 fasciculi translated by Kṣamabuddha from India with Lokakṣama from Yue-chih (179) A. D. Taisho Tripitaka No. 224 ; Vol. VIII pp. 425-478 ; 6 fasciculi translated by Chih-chin (222-257 A. D.) Taisho Tripitaka No. 225 ; 10 fasciculi translated by Kumārajīva (408 A. D.). Taisho Tripiṭaka No. 227 Vol. VIII pp. 536-586.

Tibetan : Ses .....phyin—pa—bragyad—ston—pa (Asta-sahasrika).

5) Sanskrit : Saptasatika-prajñāpāramitā sūtra edited by G. Tucci, Memorie della Reale Academia nationalc del Lincei, Huno CCCXIX, 1922, Serie Quinte Vol. XVII fasciculi iii Roma 1923 edited by J. Masuda. Journal of the Taisho University vol. VI-VII part II pp. 185-242.

Chinese : fasciculi translated by Hiuen-Tsang, Taisho—Tripitaka No. 224 (7) Vol. VIII pp. 726-732 ; 2 fasciculi translated by Mandra from Fu-nan TTP. No. 232 ; Vol. VIII pp. 726-732 ; is also contained in Taisho Tripiṭaka No. 310 (46) Vol. XI, pp. 638-648. 1 fasciculi translated by Saṁghapāla from Fu-nan (506-520 A. D.). Taisho Tripiṭaka No. 233 Vol. VIII pp. 732-739.

Tibetan ; Ses......phyin—pa bdun—brigyad—pa (saptasāhika prajñāpāramitā sūtra).

6) Vajracchedika Prajñāpāramitā sūtra. Text edited by Max Müller. (Aryan Series 1, 1) Oxford 1881.

Chinese : 1 fasciculi translated by Kumārajīva (402-412 A.D.) 1 fasciculi translated by Bodhiruci & 1 fasciculi by Paramartha, 1 fasciculi by Dharmagupta and 1 fasciculi by I-tsing (703 A.D.)

Tibetan : Ses......phyin=pa rds—rje geod—pa (vajracchedikā PPS)

Khotanese - (Stein. M. Chinese. 00275 brought from the cave temple at Tun-huang) edited by Sten Konow in Hoernle's "Manuscript Remains" Oxford 1916 pp. 214-288. E. Leumann. zur nordarische sparchestrassburg 1912, p. 56-82.

Date of Prajñāpāramitā :—

The new Mahāyānic conception of śunyata was for the first time propounded in the Prajñāpāramitā. There is a Tibetan tradition that the Purvaśailas and Aparaśailas had a Prajñāpāramitā in the Prakrit dialect unfortunately no other information about it is forthcoming. Tārānath tells us that shortly after the time of king Mahāpadma Nanda, a king called Candragupta lived in Orissa (Odivisa). Mañjuśrī came to his house in the form of a bhikṣu and delivered the Mahāyāna teaching. The Sautrantikas maintain that this teaching was the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā while the Tantra School asserts that it was the Tattvasaṅgraha. We may safely dismiss the Tantric tradition in view of the materials that are contained in Tattvasaṅgraha and attach importance to the Sautrāntikas that the Aṣṭasahasrikā was the earliest text to contain the Mahāyāna teaching. The earliest Chinese translation of Prajñāpāramitās was Dasasāhasrikā by Lokaraksa about 148 A.D. Curiously enough this particular version was not known to the Sanskritists. The Mahāvyutpatti mentions six Prajñāpāramitās namely Satasāhasrikā, Pañcavimsatisahasrikā, Aṣṭasahasrikā, Pañcasatikā, Trisatikā and Saptasatikā. Bendall, R. L. Mitra and H. P. Śāstri catalogued many manu-

scripts on Prajñāpāramitā but did not come across any of the Dasasāhasrikā. Śantideva, author of the Laṅkāvatāra had occasion to refer to the Satasāhasrikā but never to Dasasāhasrikā. Prof. Nanjio, Walleser and few other scholars hold the view that Chinese version of the Dasasāhasrikā follows more or less that of Aṣṭa. If we are to rely on the Tibetan traditions we should regard the Aṣṭasāhasrikā as the oldest for it was the first Prajñāpāramitā preached by Maitreya.

There are also internal evidences which throw light on the antiquity of the Aṣṭa and its priority to the Sata and Pañcavimsati. They are mainly the conceptions of Sambhogakāya and the ten bhūmis. The early Mahāyānists, whose doctrines are mostly to be found in the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, along with the school of Nāgārjuna conceived of two Kāyas : (i) Rupakāya, which included bodies gross and subtle meant for beings in general, (ii) Dharmakāya, which was used in two senses, one being the body of Dharma which makes a being a Buddha and the other the metaphysical principle underlying the universe—the reality. According to the Satasāhasrikā and the Pañcaviṁsatisāhasrikā, it is an exceedingly refulgent body from every pore of which streamed forth countless brilliant rays of light illuminating the lokadhatus as innumerable as the sands of the Ganges. Though this conception of the refulgent body of Buddha found currency in the Prajñāpāramitās, the expression sambhogakāya was still unkown to them. It was called by them Prakṛtyātmabhava (natural body) or Āsecanaka ātmabhava (all-diffusing body). As a matter of fact Aṣṭasāhasrikā is not even aware of the Prakṛtyātmabhava or Āsecanaka-ātmabhava, showing clearly its priority to the other Prajñāpāramitās. It speaks only of Rūpakāya and Dharmakāya and the long glorious description of Buddha, which appears in the Satasāhasrikā and Pañcaviṁsatisāhasrikā as nidana (introduction) to the text, is totally absent from it.

Another internal evidence, proving the greater antiquity of Aṣṭa, is the conception of Bhūmis. In the evolution of the Bhūmi conception, the Mahāvastu represents the earliest stage,

the Satasāhasrikā and the Pañcavimsati, the middle and the Dasabhūmika sūtra and the other works the latest.[79] The Aṣṭa does not refer to the Bhūmis at all. None of the Prajñāpāramitās mention these Mahāyānic bhūmis though they speak of Hinayānic stage of sanctification. By such internal evidences it can be definitely stated that the Aṣṭa preceded the Satasāhasrikā and the Pañcavimsati as well as Laṇkāvatāra, Dasabhūmika sūtra. By means of these tests of the conceptions of Sambhogakāya and Bhūmi we may therefore hold that Aṣṭa Sāhasrikā was the earliest Prajñāpāramitā. The earliest Chinese translation of the Dasabhūmika sūtra was made by Dharmarakṣa in the 3rd Century A.D. We may therefore hold that the Aṣṭa or the Dasa was in existence towards the end of the first Century B.C.

Central Asian fragments of Prajñāpāramitās :

In Central Asia, a few fragments of the Prajñāpāramitā have been discovered. Here is given a brief account of them.

Aṣṭadasasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā :

Aṣṭadasa-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā fragments of Central Asia comprises of nine folios found at Khadalik. The leaves belong to four different manuscripts.

1. In the first place there are six folios bearing the numbers 97, 98, 102, 104, 109 and 110 respectively, in the Brahmi characters of the Khotan realm and dating from the 7th Century A.D. The folios measure 22″×7″ inches, and each side contains 11 lines with about 65 aksaras to the line.[80] The language is fairly correct Sanskrit.

2. A second manuscript is represented by one folio numbered 152, in a slightly older form of Brahmi 23 1/4″×8 1/2″ each side with 11 lines of 55-57 aksaras. The language is much less correct than in the first group and there are numerous slips, genders, numbers and cases being of ten confounded. Of interest is the frequent writing -tt-for-t-, e.g. bhavatti ạb, b2, ettạ ạnd ḍdh—fọr—d—iṇ ḅhạddhanta fọr bhadạnta.

Konow has shown in his 'Memoirs' Vol. 69 that the incomplete leaves of Bidyabinod in the Memoirs No. 32 can belong to Aṣṭadasasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā. In his publication Bidyabinod's leaves have been inserted in their proper place between fols. 110 and 152[87].

Fragment of Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā[88] :

The manuscript was discovered by Sri A Stein in his first expedition to Eastern Turkestan in the years 1900-1. It was identified by Dr. Hoernle as the text of Vajracchedikā. The text of the Vajracchedikā was published by Maxmuller, from manuscripts discovered in Japan, in the Anecdota Oxoniensia (Aryan series) Vol. i, part i, in 1881.

This manuscript is written in on nineteen folios, long and narrow, of coarse country paper, and each folio is about 15 1/4 inches in length and 2 15/16 inches in width. The manuscript has been well written and contains very few errors that are merely clerical but its language is Sanskrit of poor literary quality and abounds with irregularities and peculiarities of all kinds in both grammar and sandhi and even in the forms of words.

The date of the manuscripts may be estimated approximately by means of the copper-plate which was found inside the Nirvāṇa Sūtra at Kasia and which Pargiter had deciphered. The plate may be assigned to the third quarter of the fifth century A.D. because of the coins found with it. The writing in this manuscript is very much like that on the plate. According to Pargiter "this manuscripts may be assigned to about the end of the fifth or the beginning of the 6th Century A.D.

Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra :

Suvarṇaprabhāsa means 'splendour of gold', the contents of which are partly philosophical and ethical and which also contains many legends, but which, for a great part, already bears the stamp of a Tantra. The Suvarṇaprabhāsa enjoys a great reputation and is popular in all countries where Mahā-

yāna Buddhism prevails. In Central Asia, too, fragments of this work have been discovered. Here is given the description of the manuscripts ;—

There are two folios of the same manuscript of Suvarṇaprabhāsa sūtra. The first is a fragment, measuring about 7=3 5/8 inches, and being about three sevenths of a complete folio. The second is complete measuring 16 1/10=3 5/8 inches (Hoernle p. 108). The text of the two folios is from the Suvarṇabhās-ottamasūtra, perhaps more commonly known as the Suvarṇaprabhās-ottamasūtra. An obstract of the contents of the sūtra is given in R. L. Mitra's Sanskrit Buddhist literature in Nepal (catalogue of the ASB, Hodgson Collection pp. 241-8). There exist translations into Chinese (Nanjio Nos. 127, 130), Tibetan (Rockhill, Life of Buddha, p. 218) and Mongol (L. J. Schmidt, Geschichte der ostmongolen), Fragments of a translation into Khotanese have been published by M. P. Pelliot (Etudes Linguistiques Fase. iv, 1913) and in Uiguri by Prof. F. W. K. Muller (Uigurica, pp. 10-35, 1908).

The first fragment [89] :

1. me srutam sutram umoditam ca yathābhiprayena bodhi prāptam sadharmakāyam hi maya ca laddham 32 suvarna prabhasa—ottamaatah su.
2. trendra—rajne su-sambhava—parivartto namna pamca (dasa) mah samaptah. Atha khalu bhagavam sriyo mahadevata (y=amam).
3. trayamasa yat kascic chri—mahadevete sraddhah kulaputro va kuladuhita va atit—ana (g) ata=pratyu (tpa) nna.
4. nam Buddhanom bhagavatanam actntya mahati viputa vistrirna sarvb=opakaranaih pujam karitu=kamena a (ti) tana.
5. gata-pratyutpannanam Buddhanam Bhagavatam gambhi (ram) Buddhagocaram prajanitu kamo bhavet ten=ava. syam tatra prades va vihare va.

6. aramnya. dese va yatrayam suvarna-bhas-ottamah sutren-dra raja vistarena samprakasyate = aryaksipta cittena = avahita.

Translation[90]

As being the earnest of a great store of merits this sūtra has been heard by me and approved ; and according to its intention absolute knowledge has been obtained by me, and with it the absolute body by me has been acquired.

Thereupon then the Blessed one addressed the excellent Mahādevī, 'if O Mahādevī', any believing noble youth or noble maiden, from a desire to render inconceivable, great, abundant, extensive worship with every means (in his power) to the past, future and present Blessed Buddhas, be desirous to know the profound Buddha sphere of the past, future and present blessed Buddhas, he must necessarily wherever this suvarṇabhāsottama most royal sūtra is proclaimed in full detail, whether it be in the country, or in a monastery or in the forest.

Th? second fragment [91] :

Obverse

1. Iti suvarnabeasottamatah sūre [nd] ra = rajne Hiranayavati-dhāraṇī parivartto [na]
2. ma pañcamah / / Atha Khalu Bhagavan tasyam vetayam ima gath = adhvabhasit. Anyesu sutresu acintikesu (ativi-)
3. Staram desita sunya dharmah / tasmab ime sutra-var-ottama ca saniksepato desita sunya-dharmahsa tba-lpa-buddhi (av i (jana) ma (n) a :
4. na sakya jnatum khalu sarva = dharmam yasmad dha sutrendra = var = ottamena samksepato desita sunya = dhar-mah. Anyair upayaisca nayais
5. ca hetubhi satvana karunya - ras - odayad dha / praka-sitam sutra - var - endram eted [yatha] (v) i (j) ana mti ha sarvaba - satbah. A (yam) ca kayo yatha.

6. Sunya - gramah aad - grama - caur - opama indriyani/tany eva grame nīvasamti sarvana (te vijana)-mti parasparena.

Translation [92]

1. Here ends the fifth chapter named Hiranyavati Dhāraṇī, in the suvarṇabhasottama, the king of foremost sūtras.
2. Thereupon the Blessed one on that occasion spoke the following gāthā verses.
3. In other sūtras unthinkable (in number) the principles of the sunya doctrine are set forth at great length ; hence in this most excellent sūtra the principles of the sunya doctrine are set forth succinctly.
4. Beings are of small power of apprehending are without understanding ; they cannot forsooth all the principles ; hence by means of this most excellent sūtra the principles of the sunya doctrine are set forth succinctly.
5. By other expedients, arguments and reasons, from an uprising of the feeling of pity for living beings this most excellent sūtra is published in order that all living beings might apprehend the sunya doctrine.
6. This body is like a deserted village ; the six senses resemble free booters in the village ; but they do not recognize one another.

Fragments of Ratnadhvaja Sūtra [93] :

The fragments of Ratnadhvaja measuring about 13 3 4/5 inches. The writing, in upright Gupta characters, is good ; less elegant. The text has been identified by Dr. Watanabe with Ratnadhvaja, of the Mahasannipāta sūtra (Nanjio No. 84). It was translated into Chinese by Dharmaraksha a native of Central India, between 414 and 421 A.D. under the Norther Lian Dynasty (Nanjio, App. II. No. 67). The text reads as follows :

1. amanasikara bhavanti bhagavenaha karma - pratyayam eva drastavya kotuhala - praptanam satbanam ghagava samsaya
2. cched - artha imam purvba - yoga udaharati smam, bhuta purvabam kulaputr-atite 'dhvani aparimanebhin mahakal-pabhih.
3. adhikkrantebhi asmim caiva catu - dvipikayam yad= asmim tena kalena tena samayena jyotisurya-gandhobhasa
4. Sri name abhusis tathagata arha sannyak - samboddho yava buddho bhagavam kliste pancakasade loke vartta
5. mane caturnam parisanam sata - trini yanani dharman desayati smam tena ca kala samayena raja
6. abhusi utpalavaktro nama catu - dbipika cakkravartti - atha raja utpalavaktro aparena samayena santabpura
7. parivarah sa-bala-kayo : yena jyotisemya - gandhao-bhasa - sris tathagato ten=opasam krrami ypetya

Translation :

......They become inattentive. The Blessed one spoke, 'the doctrine of karma, varily, must be considered. To beings taken with curiosity the Blessed one, for the purpose of removing their doubts related the following old-time story. In a long by-gone age, a man of noble family in times past and countless great periods of time having passed, (was born again) in this world of four dvipas. At that time, on that occasion, there was a Tathāgata named Jyotisuryagandhavabhasasri, an Arhat thoroughly enlightened the Blessed Buddha, while the world was being afflicted by the five fold defects, declared to his four classes of disciples the three equal vehicles and the Law. At that time on that occasion, there was a king Utpalavaktra by name (who was) the sovereign of all the four dvipas. Now King Utpalavaktra, at another time, accompanied by his wives and courtiers and his body guard, proceeded to where the Tathāgata Jyotisomyagandhavabhasasri (was staying.)

Bhadrapala Sūtra [94] :

The fragment measuring about 15 1/4×4 1/2 inches. The writing are in upright Gupta characters. The text has been identified by Dr. Watanabe as from the Bhadrapala Sūtra (Nanjio Nos. 73, 75, 76). Jñanagupta has made a Chinese translation of Bhadrapala sūtra. The summary of the fragment is given below :

......of the Bodhisattvas the Devas also undertake the protection, also the Nagas, also the Yakshas, also the Gandharvas, also the Kinnaras, also the Mahoragas undertake the protection, also men, also not men, also sakra also Brahma, also the four Maharagas also the Blessed Buddhas undertake the protection of the Bodhisattvas, as many of them as there are in the innumerable world systems......

Here the Blessed one spoke the following Gāthās :

Snakes with dreadful poison, terrible......become innocuous, nor does a hog offer any risk of injury to Bodhisattva whose samādhi is in progress.

(when)......men of depraved mind are intent on doing injury, they become defeated by the power of him whose samādhi should be in progress.

As to his insight there is never any failing as to his conditions (past, present and future) there is never any doubt; as to his form there is no equal to him, who keeping [samādhi] in progress shows it to others.

When among kings there is agitation and agitation among living beings, when danger of famine or difficult road is present, there is no agitation in him, nor is [affected] the Bodhi of him, who keeping samādhi in progress shows it to others. By Māra (or death) indeed living beings may be subjected, but for him there is no terror of him who has this samādhi in progress. However, many evils, afflictions, sufferings have been mentioned by me (the Blessed one) they do not attack his body......

Praised, landed and celebrated, having set samādhi before them, these eldest sons in whose hands are these grand sūtras go at the last.

Fragments of Ratnarāsi Sūtra [95]:

The fragments measuring about 11 2/5×3/1/2 inches. The writing is in upright Gupta characters. The fragment has been identified by Hoernle with Ratnarāsi sūtra of which a Tibetan version is to be found in the Bkah-hgyur. This sūtra was translated into Chinese in A.D. 397-439 A.D. (Nanjio No. 23, Col. 19). In Hoernle's book the fragment with the Tibetan version in parallel columns are given.

The fragment runs as follows :

Obverse

1. Aammoham nigacchati, ime kasyapa astau sramanadharm-avaranas te prāvrajitena pari varja yitavyah / / Naham Kasyapa Sramana linga samstha panam idam
2. iti vadami guna - dharmam pratipatya=ham kasyapa sramanam iti vadami. Sramanena kasyapa kayesmim kasaya dhara (yam) anena niskasayena
3. tena bhavitavyam tat kasmad dhetoh niskasayasya kasyapa kasaya m anujnatam yah kascit kasyapa sa-kasayah kayes-mim kasayam dharayati
4. anyatra sayadhimuktya sarvams tam kasaya - dagohan iti vadami tat kasmad dhetoh aryanamm esa kasyapa dhvajah upasammanukulo maitram oukta
5. viraga - caritanamm etani vastrani, tatra Kasyapa ya aryanam dhvajas tam srnus va dvadas=eme kasyapa arya-nam dhvajah katame dvadasa.

Translation

......falls into infatuation. These O Kasyapa, are the eight hindrances to observing the principles of a sramana ; they must be abandoned by one who has abandoned the world.

Nor do I, O Kasyapa, speak as setting up a mark of a sramana. By his practising the principles of virtue, O Kasyapa do I judge any one to be sramana. A sramana, O Kasyapa, who wears the yellow robe on his body, must be free from moral stain. For what reason ? To the stainless, O Kasyapa, the yellow robe has been allowed. Whoever, O Kasyapa with stains, wears the yellow robe on his body, save with a steady resolve all such, I say, are burned by those robes. For what reason ? For the Elect, O Kasyapa, it is their banner ; they are the garments of those that practise renunciation that they are disposed to calmness, that they are devoted to friendliness. Now, O Kasyapa, listen to what are the banners of the Elect, Twelve O Kasyapa are these banners of the Elect. What twelve ?

Besides these fragments there are fragments of Candragarbha and Candrapāla sūtras of the Mahasannipāta class and Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra of the Nirvāṇa class.

Fragments of Dhāraṇīs :

The earliest texts which may be Dhāraṇīs (mantra, spell, formulas to be memorised) formed a section of the later Mahāyāna literature. In the early Mahāyāna text Saddharmapuṇḍarika there are a few Dhāraṇīs which, if uttered by the reciters of the sūtra, would protect them from all harm. The Dhāraṇī forms the twenty-first chapter of Saddharmapuṇḍarika which, completing in twenty seventh chapters. In this chapter Bhaisjyarāja Bodhisattva approaches the teacher for a protective spells for the protection of the Dharmabhāṇakas who are to hand down the texts of the Saddharmapuṇḍarika. The teacher recites a spell which is partially intelligible. Immediately after the utterance of the spells the leaders of the Rākṣasis approach the teacher with the promise that they would protect the Dharmabhāṇakas, preserving the texts in future. From this chapter it may be concluded that this Dhāraṇī is meant exclusively for the preservation of the Saddharmapuṇḍarika. In the Suvarṇaprabhāsa sūtra (Chaps.

XI, XII) there is a section exhorting the gods and demons to protect those who read and write the sūtra from harm. La Vallee Poussin Bouddhisme E'tudes et Materiaux Memoires, 1897, p. 127, describes the Suvarṇaprabhāsa as a Māhātmya Dhāraṇīs.

Asaṅga in his Bodhisattvabhūmi (Ch. XVIII, p. 185) offers an exposition of the term Dhāraṇī. He writes that Dhāraṇī means that a Bodhisattva preserves in his memory Dharma, its artha and the mantras for an unlimited period of time. The first and second Dharma Dhāraṇī and Artha Dhāraṇī mean that a Bodhisattva remembers the texts (granthas) as well as their meaning on account of their sharp and excellent memory. The third is Mantra Dhāraṇī by which is meant that a Bodhisattva, on account of his control over meditation can relieve the sufferings of beings by uttering spells (mantras), and the fourth is Kṣāntilabhya Dhāraṇī, by which is meant that a Bodhisattva who leads a highly restrained life, learns some spells by which he perfects himself in perseverance. The spells are like Iti-miti kiti-bhih-kṣānti padāni svāhā. Though the words of the mantras do not convey any particular meaning, a Bodhisattva realises their intrinsic value, viz., the nature of their indescribability and hence, he does not seek their literal sense. From such interpretations, it appears that the efficacy of a mantra depends more on the will-power of the mantra reciter, who knows how to control his thoughts than on the actual word, composing the spells. The intonation and repetition of the spells may have a value of their own.

The growth of the Dhāraṇī literature took place between the 4th and 8th centuries A.D. The Dhāraṇīs had very little to do with the yogic practices of Tantricism. The efficacy of the Dhāraṇīs rested mainly on the repetition of the mantras on the auspicious days of a month along with some ceremonies for the worship of Avalokitesvara.

In the Tibetan Kanjur the Dhāraṇīs are to be found both among the sūtras (mdo) and the Tantras (Rgyut). There was

not always a clear line of demarcation between Dhāraṇīs and sūtras. There are Mahāyāna sūtras which are nothing but recommendations of Dhāraṇīs. Thus the Aparimitayuh sūtra which we have not only in Sanskrit and Khotanese but also in Chinese and Tibetan. A few number of manuscripts containing Dhāraṇīs have been discovered in Central Asia. These are written in upright Gupta characters of the 7th century A.D. Some of these appear also in the languages current in Central Asia. Here is given the description of the fragments which have been discovered in Central Asia.

Anantamukha Dhāraṇī :

The fragments measuring about 4 1/16″×1 1/8″ inches and has been identified by Prof. Watanabe as part of the Anantamukha Dhāraṇī, of which the Chinese Tripiṭaka includes eight translations. The Tibetan version, which is found in the Bkah-hgyur does not represent any difference of reading.

Obverse

1. dohy-abhisamskaren=abhisamskrtena yavad-eva-phiksavo janapada pradese.
2. s=upanissraya viharanti tan sarvan mahavane kutagara sala
3. yam samnipatayeyam-ath=ayusman=chariputras (t) atharupam rddhy-a-

Reverse

1. bhiṣamskaram abhisamskarod yatharupena rddhy abhisamskaren=abhisamskṛtena
2. yavad-eva-bhiksavo janapada-pradesesu vihara-miti- tan sarvan ma
3. havane kutagara-salayam samnipatayamasa-teṇa ca sạmayena

Translation

Obverse

......by the performance of a feat of supernatural power, as many monks as there are living in the parts of the country around, then all I wish to bring together in the hall of the Mahavana pagoda. Then the venerable Sariputra performed such.

Reverse

A feat of supernatural power as that by the performance of that feat of supernatural power as many monks as were residing in the parts of the country around, them all he brought together in the hall of the Mahavana pagoda. And at that time......[96]

Nīlakaṇṭhadhāraṇī :

1. Siddheyogisvara : dhuru 2 viyamnti mahaviyamnti dhara 2
2. dharendrasvara : cala vimalamalamurtte aryavalokite
3. svaraji jikrsnajate mukutavalamba va pralambam maha
4. siddhavidyadhara bala 2 mahabalamala 2 mahamala
5. cala 2 mahacala krsnavarna krsnapaksa nirghatana he
6. padmahasta : cara 2 nisacaresvara : krsnasarpakrtya
7. Jnopavita : ehy ehy mahavarahamukha mahatrayapura
8. dahanesvara : narayanarupabalavegadhari he nilaka
9. nda he mahahalahalavisa : nirjjanta loksya rago
10. visavinasana : dvesavisavinasana : mohavisavi
11. nasane : hulu 2, ala huru : hara 2 mahapadmanabha.
12. sara 2 siri 2 suru 2 budhya 2 bodhaya 2 bodhayamiti
13. nilakanda ehy ehi : vamasthitasimhamukha : hasa 2
14. munca 2 mahatattahasa : ehy ehi mahasiddhyo
15. gisvara : hana 2 vacem sadhaya 2 vidyam samara 2 bhagava.
16. ntam : lokitavilokita : tathagatam : dadahi me da-
17. rsaṇaṃ : ḳaṃasya darṣaṇaṃ : p̣rahḷạdaya mẹnạm sỵahạ

18. siddhaya svaha : mahasiddhaya svaha : siddhayogi
19. svaraya svaha : nilakanthaya svaha : varaha mukha
20. ya svaha : mahasimghamukhaya svaha : siddhavidyadha
21. raya svaha : padmahastaya svaha : mahakrsnasarpa
22. jajnopavitaya svaha : mahalakutadharaya svaha
23. cakrayudhaya svaha : samkhasavyanibodhanaya svaha
24. vamaskandhanasasthita krsnajinaya svaha vyaghra
25. carmanivasanaya svaha : lokitesvaraya svaha
26. sarvasiddhesvaraya svaha : namo bhagavote aryava
27. lokitesvaraya : bodhisatvaya mahasatvaya · maha
28. karunikaya : siddhamtu mantrapadaya svaha :
29. nilakantha nama dharani samapta
30. namo : nila : kanda : samkha : cakrattani di
31. vavanaya : krisno sadya diva yajno : vetya
32. kaccharmaya : namas kamuta tri uya : narayanarupa
33. tharanam // trenitya mundatate // pravisa 2 vipaloki
34. tesara : kurmahum : // hṛday mamtra ;
35. um drum samanta svaha ;
namo bhagavatyai aryaprajñāparā /

This fragment of Nīlakaṇṭhadhāraṇī brought from Central Asia by M. A. Stein, Sanskrit text in Brāhmi script and in Sogdienne transcription, has been edited by La Vallce Poussin and R. Gauthiot in JRAS 1912, pp. 629 ff. This Dhāraṇī was already very popular in China between 650 and 750 A.D.

Mahāpratyangiradhāraṇī

The manuscripts measuring about 97 /10×1 4/5 inches. The fragment contains a small portions of the Mahāpratyangiradhāraṇī. The peculiar Khotanese rr occurs regularly in vajrra (obv. 11) and bhadra (rev. 1.2). There are the Nepalese manuscripts Nos. 61 and 77, of the Royal Asiatic Society collection. There are further two Chinese translations, one of which is noticed in Nanjio No. 1016. The portion of the Dhāraṇī which is comprised in our fragment contains a series of epithets of the goddess Tārā.

It runs as follows[97] :

Obverse

1. sca santa vaidaisa pujitā saumarupa mahāsvetā arya-Tārā mahā
2. bala-apara vajrra samkala c=aiva vajrra kaumāri kulam-dhari vajrra
3. hasta ca vidya kamcana malika kusumbharatana vairau-cana kurya
4. rth-ausnesa vajrrambhamana na ca vajrra-kanaka pıra-bhalauvana vajrra ndi

Reverse

1. ca sveta ca kamalaksa sasi prabha ity etc mundra yana sarve raksam kurvam
2. iti mama kumāra bhadrrasya // om risi-gana-prrasastas Tathāgat-osni
3. sa hum trum jambhana hum trum stambhana hum trum para vidya sambhakṣana-kara hum
4. trum sarva-dustanam stambhana-kara hum trum sarva yakṣa-rākṣasa grahanam vi

Translation

...and placid, worshipped by foreigners (people of videha), of benign aspect, of great whiteness noble Tārā. Very mighty, unrivalled and verily girdled with a chain of thunderbolts, the thunderbolt maid, with thunderbolt in hand, magic, with a golden garland, with the jewel of safflower, with the diadem of Vairocana's race with knitted brows, of the golden hue of the thunderbolt, with eyes, with thunderbolt at the navel and white, lotus eyed and of the moons brightness. These are her many mystic marks ; may they all give protection to me Kumāra-bhadra. Hail to the landed of all the Ṛsis, the crown of the Tathāgata. Hum trum, crusher, hum trum paralyser, hum trum devourer of the enemy's magic, demolisher of all the Yakṣas, Rākṣasas and evil planets.

Poetical works :

Remains of the works of the two great Buddhist poets Aśvaghoṣa and Matṛceṭa were discovered amongst the Central Asian finds. Fragments of Aśvaghoṣa's work were brought by the German mission from Turfan region. Aśvaghoṣa[98] as is well known was a contemporary of King Kaniṣka and a philosopher, poet and dramatist of the first order. Two of his poetical works, Buddhacarita and Saundarānanda are known in original and a third the Sūtralaṁkāra is preserved in Chinese translation of Kumārajīva. Besides a philosophical work entitled Śradhātpāda-śāstra has also been preserved in Chinese translation which is widely studied in China and Japan.

Central Asian remains throw more light on his other works. A fragment of Buddhacarita brought from Turfan regions shows that the texts was studied by the Buddhist monks of Central Asia. A drama entitled Sāriputraprakaraṇa discovered in the same region and not known from other sources is ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa, only portions of the original work have been found, but they clearly show that it was a remarkable work. It is the oldest Indian drama known to us and presupposes a great development in the dramatic art.

Fragment of Buddhacarita :

tapasphalam khalv idam i ya
69 ya tad asya manada vyapeksay
vṛddhi m topasam tapah pri yam
narhasi sthira sayah sakkhyan
ivanvaya gatam 70 prayatum evatha
mo vayam apy arindama mahurtam
eva pravipalyatam ya
7 1 k rta hotrair hi karais
tapa s vinas athaiva ya y
1 tram svam ativa garhayams
tapovanam sthasyati kevalam 1
igarhito durjana

samgamah sada gunas ihaiko
yogaduhkham yad ato na jayate 73
bhavad vidhanam tu sa
yam ta do-vja am ve V iyo gad
74
atha dvijams tam sahitarjanadvijah sa r a jasutah
ca bhasitar tapasvivargo
yam ajihlad cai
ta na nasti me.

Surendralokadhigamaya (Kevalam yu
smakam ayam parisramah mama prayatnas tu bhavapprasam
taye 8 mamopadestum
ta vi arhatha drutam kam asra y
bha vesu sarvesu na khalv aham rame davagni
diptesu tarusv i vandajah aradam
Asvamibhy oj ananpariksa dr stamargam asrauh
tad adhisam

.... Yus ca svargaya vratam iha te topovanapraves
O nama navamah sargah aradai.

Another work of controversial authorship was also discovered by the German misson in Turfan region. It is a poetical work in Sanskrit which agrees with the Sūtralaṁkāra of Aśvaghoṣa as known from the Chinese translation of the work by Kumārajīva. But the colophons of the Turfan manuscript ascribe the work to Kumaralāta. The colophon runs thus : iti ārya Kumāralātayām Kalpanālaṁkakṛtāyāṁ dṛṣṭānyatpaṅktyām. Prof. Lüders who deciphered the manuscript, edited and published it was of opinion that the name of the work was Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā and that its author was Kumaralāta. The Chinese tradition ascribed the work to Aśvaghoṣa through mistake.

Kumāralāta is described in Chinese tradition as "Master of Comparisons" (dṛṣṭānta) and as founder of a "School of Comparison" (Dārṣṭāntika)[99] which was a branch of the Sautrāntika School. The principal work of Kumāralāta is men-

tioned in the Chinese texts as Yu man lun—Dṛṣṭānta-māla (Paṅkti) śāstra, on these grounds Lĕvi has expressed the opinion that the name of the Turfan text was really Dṛṣṭāntapaṅkti (as found in the colophon) and that Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā is an adjective to it. The Turfan text is considered by Lĕvi to be a new edition of the Sūtralaṁkāra of Aśvaghoṣa expanded by the addition of moral lessons and apologues in the form of examples (dṛṣṭānta) according to the practice of the Drāṣṭāntika School. The Turfan text therefore represents partially the Sūtralaṁkāra of Aśvaghoṣa.

The Hymns of Matṛceṭa :

The fragments of the poems of another poet of great fame have also been brought to light both in Sanskrit original and Tokharian translation. The poet was Mātṛceṭa who is well known from Tibetan and Chinese translations. A full account of the poet and his works is given by I-tsing. "In India" he says, "numerous hymns of praise to be sung at worship have been most carefully, handed down, for every talented person man of letters has praised in verse whatsoever person he deemed most worthy of worship. Such a man was the venerable Mātṛceṭa who by his great literary talent and virtues, excelled all learned men of his age".

"He composed first a hymn consisting of four hundred ślokas and afterwards another of one hundred and fifty. He treats generally of the six Pāramitās and expounds all the excellent qualities of the Buddha, the world honoured one. ......Consequently in India all who compose hymns imitate his style, considering him the father of literature. Even men like the Bodhisattva Asaṅga and Vasubandhu admired him greatly. Throughout India every one who becomes a monk is taught Mātṛceṭa's two hymns as soon as he can recite the five and ten precepts"[100].

Of the two works of Mātṛceṭa I-tsing while in Nālandā translated one in 150 verses in Chinese. The Chinese cata-

logues render the title as Sārdhaśataka Buddhapraśaṁsāgāthā but the original Sanskrit title is now known as Śatpañcasatikā-Stotra. Manuscripts of the Sanaskrit original of the Śatpañcasatikā-Stotra have been brought from the various sites in Central Asia such as Jigdalik-Bai, Tunhuang and Khora.

In 1910 there appeared in J.A. a paper by Sylvain Lēvi entitled "Texts Sanscrits de Touen Houang,' of several fragmentary Sanskrit manuscript brought by Paul Pelliot from Central Asia. Among them was a single paper folio in 'slanting Gupta script bearing on one side portions of seven ślokas and on the reverse a colophon of which enough remained to identify the text as belonging to Mātṛceṭa's Hymn of 150 verses. The ślokas are numbered 147-53 but actually correspond to vv. 145.

In the following year this fragment was reprinted by La Vallee Poussin in the J.R.A.S. along with three other folios probably forming a part of a single discovered by Sir A. Stein at Tun-huang.

A third instalment of fragments arrived in 1916 with the publication of A. F. R. Hoernle's Manuscript Remains of Buddhist literature found in Eastern Turkestan in the 12th Section of which (entitled Satapañcasatikā Stotra) he not only printed the three Stein's folios but added two more. Like the Stein folios is written in 'slanting gupta', its place of provenance, however, was not Tun-huang but Jigdalik Bai, the other is a small fragment found at Khora in 'slanting gupta' containing fragments of vv. 144-8.

In 1936 Mr. Rāhula Saṁkṛtyāyana discoverd a complete mss. of the Hymn in the temple territory of the Sasky monastery in Tibet.

Fragments of other work of Matṛceṭa, the Catuḥsatakastotra also have been discovered from Central Asia. There

is no Chinese translation of the text but the Tibetan translation gives the name of the work Varṇanārha-varṇanāstotra. Fragments of Sanskrit manuscript were discovered from Khora (near Karashahr) and Jigdalik (near Bai). Only thirtytwo verses have been discovered from the fragments and it appears from them that the text was divided into 12 chapters. The colophon of the Chapters give the full title of the work as Varṇanārha-varṇe Buddha stotre Catuḥśatakam.

Fragments of Medical Texts in Central Asia :

The literary remains brought from the ancient sites contain a large number of fragments of Sanskrit medical texts which were used in Central Asia from the 4th to about the 8th century A.D.

Col. Bower discovered three different medical texts from an old stūpa near Kucha. They are usually known as Bower Manuscripts. One of these texts deals with garlic, its origin and use. The author says that garlic is able to cure many diseases and can extend the life upto 100 years. The text also deals with digestion, an elixir for life 1000 years, correct mixing of ingredients, other medicines, lotion and ointment for eyes etc. The second text contains 14 medical formulæ for external and internal use. The third text which is the largest portion of the collection is called Navanītaka, "cream" and contains an abstract of the earlier medical literature.

The Bower manuscript is a collection of fragments of different manuscript dealing with medicine, treatment of diseases along with cubomancy and mahāmāyurī vidyārājñi, the well known Tāntric treatise of charms and spells for curing snake-bites. The collection of fragments was edited by Hoernle in seven parts. These fragments are written on birch bark in early Gupta script of the 4th Century A.D. In the opening verse of Navanītaka and author states that he was putting together the best known formulas of the medical authorities (maharṣis) of his time. He incidentally mentions the earliest

famous medical teacher as Punarvasu, son of Atri. He had six disciples who collected his teachings and arranged them in sections or chapters. A few centuries later these collections in Chapters and sections were converted into Saṁhitās known as Charaka and Bhedaka Saṁhitās. In the part entitled Navanītaka (clarified butter i.e. gist) there are copious extracts from the Bheḍaka Saṁhitā, Charaka Saṁhitā and Susruta Sṁhitā, namely Ayorjiya-churna, Rasayanika-ghrita, Madhu-yashṭika taila, Talisaka-churna, Shadava-churna, Shaṭpala-ghrita, Chyavanaprāsa-ghrita, Silajatukalpa.

Date and language of the manuscript :

On the basis of the Gupta script the date of the author may be placed at the latest in the 4th Century A.D. The language of the text is a "mixed Sanskrit" i.e. Sanskrit mixed with Prakrit, which was the accepted medium of the early Mahāyānic writers.

The fragments dealing with divination, incantation, and magic contain more Prakritism than the other parts.

Contents of the treatise :

In the first part of the Bower manuscript are found miscellaneous topics such as a tract on garlic and stray remarks on the regulations of digestion etc. a few formula on eye-lotion and face plaster.

The second part called "Navanītaka" is the verses. In the opening stanzas the author states : I shall compile a standard manual by the name of Navanītaka containing the foremost formulas of the Maharṣis.[101] (2) Whatever is beneficial to man and women afflicted with various diseases whatever is book. (3) It should become a favourable of those physicians whose minds delight in conciseness, but on account of the multiplicity of its formulas it will also be welcome to those who desire copiousness. (4) The first chapter will give formulas for powders ; the second various kinds of medicated or clarified butter ; and the third (medicated) oils. The fourth will be a

miscellaneous chapter giving formulas for the treatment of various diseases ; the fifth will give formulas for anaemias followed by one with directions for tonics. The 7th will deal with gruels, the 8th with aphrodisiacs, the 9th with collyriums, the 10th with hair-washes, the 11th with the modes of using chebulic myrobalan, the 12th with bitumen, the 13th with the plumbago-root the 14th with the treatment of children ; the 15th with the treatment of barren women, and the 16th with the treatment of women who are blessed with children. These sixteen chapters will constitute the Navanitaka.[102]

In the third part there are a few specimens of prescriptions one of which is given here by way of illustration :

Take one karsha each of well-powdered, plumbago root, danti (baliospermum), oleander root gunja (abrus precatorious), langalaki (gloriose superba), vrihati (solanum idicum) suvarna-puship (cassica fistula), ginger (nalika) and sulphate of iron and add one kudava of the milky juice of Arka (calotropis gigantea), with all these drugs mix one prastha of oil in four times as much of water and cows urine. This is a remedy in cases of......ringworm keloid tumour and skin diseases also in cases of kari-mala, fistula sores, malignant sores, poisoned wounds and enlargement of the lymphatic glands.[103]

In the 4th part there are two short manuals ; one deals with the art of foretelling a person's fortune by means of cast of dice (pāsaka-kevali) ;

Let the dice fall for the purpose of the present object. Hili, Hili. Let them fall as befits the skill of Kumbhakarika, the Mantaga women.

Let the dice fall openly, svāhā, let the truth be seen, etc.[104]

The fifth part is in fragments, and nothing can be made out of them. In sixth and seventh parts contain the Mahāmāyurividyārañji which is a well known Dhāraṇī dealing with charms and spells for protection from snake-bites. The Mahāmāyurī queen of spells, reads, e.g., as follows : itti, mitti, tili, mili, mitti, mitti, dumba, tumba, suvachirikasiya, bhinnamedi ......ananada, may the Deva vouchsafe fresh water (i.e.), seven

fold, on everyside, so that the lands may be abounding with water, overflowing from end to end, haritale, kantale ili, me. May these words of charms be effective.[105]

Besides the Sanskrit original of medical texts there are other evidences to show that Indian medical litearature was widely used in Central Asia. We know from translations of Indian texts into Khotanese languages that the knowledge of Indian medicine was very wide-spread. Here is given an example of this. Khotanese :

(1) aurga tta brrahman halai : aurga tta saidhavaidhyadaram rasaya halai
Praise now towards Brahma, praise now towards the Siddhavidyadhara ṛṣis.

(2) asvagamdha pamjsase sera : ttyejsa kasa pachai ksa samga utca tcera sau samga thamjamna : [da] samula sau sau sera : balamula agnamatha : syanaka : kasmiryamula. patala. salaparna brrahatta, kamndarya. drramgulyai si ysira kutamna tcahau samga ucajsa jsamnamns khu ra va sau samga harsta.[106]
Asvagandha—15 sera ; therefrom a concoction should be cooked ; 6 sanga water should be taken, one sanga extracted ; the dasamulas—1 sera each : bilvamula, agnimantha, Bignonia Indica, kasmiryamula, patala, salaparni, (prsniparni) bṛhati, kantakarika, cattle thorn,—this should be firmly pounded, boiled with 4 sanga water so that one sanga is left ;[107]

(3) ttalispatta mirimjsya dvi dvi macamga : ttumgara drrim macamga : papala tacam macamga tvaca susmila sa sa macamga : sakara pamjsa sira si camna phaha uysna aphara jimda khaysam virisa padimi spimjim vasuji. ttavim nastausim nvava dimvamna nahiji ysaujsa sa camna aviysara jimda mamgara arja bamma jimda :
Talisapattra, black pepper,—2 macanga each, ginger—3 macanga, pippali—4 macanga, tvak, suksmela,—1 macanga, each, sugar—5 sera ; this curna overcomes cough, respiration troubles, opens purgation of foodstuffs, cleans

the spleen, beats down fever, consumption, slow digestion, this tasty curna overcomes atisara, overcomes old arsas, vomiting.

(4) suksmila sa macamga tvaca nagapuspa : mirimjsya 4 papala 5 ttumgara 6 sakara 7 sira sa camna agvaha jimda duvara arja.[108]

Suksmela—1 macanga, tvak, nagapuspa, black pepper—4, pippali—5, ginver—6, sugar—7 sera ; this curna overcomes indigestion, overcomes abdomen enlargement, arsas, diseases in the heart, cough, respiration troubles, overcomes raktapitta, swollen belly, diseases in the throat.

Fragments of Kharoṣṭhi documents discovered at Niya, Endere and Lou-Lan sites :

The total number of Kharoṣṭhi documents found in the various ruined structures of the Niya, Endere and Lou-Lan sites amounts to about 764.[109] These records, written in Prakrit and inscribed on small wooden tablets, leather pieces, silk fragments etc. These documents throw a good deal of light on the social, religious, political and economic conditions of the region in the early centuries of the Christian era. Most of these records are dated by Burrow, Stein, Rapson in about 4th Century A.D.[110]

The bulk of the documents is found in Niya, the ancient Codata which lay on the extreme edge of the Kingdom of Khotan. They are far from Endere (Saca) and 40 miles from Lou-lan area where the ancient capital of the kingdom of Kroraina was situated.[111] A single document from Endere (661) is written in a Prakrit dialect different from the rest and as it refers to a king of Khotan, it may be taken to represent the Prakrit used in Khotan at that time. In all the structures discovered at Niya, not a scrap of paper with or without writing has been discovered. The use of wooden tablets as writing materials for all documents with exception of a small number on leather pieces is a proof of the considerable antiquity of these records.[112]

Palæographic evidence :

There is a close agreement in the palæographic features between the document discovered in the Niya river site and Kharoṣṭhi inscription of the Kuṣāna or Indo-scythians who ruled over the Puñjāb and the Kabul regions during the first two centuries of the Christian era.[113] It is very likely that the Kharoṣṭhi script ceased to be used soon after the termination of the Indo-Scythian period. It is remarkable that the Kharoṣṭhi script remained in current use in Khotan for a century too more without undergoing perceptible changes. There is an interesting find made in the structure No. vii.[114] A narrow Takhti-shaped tablet which bears on one side a single line of Kharoṣṭhi and on the other three lines of Brāhmi characters, which happens to be the only specimen of this writing found in this site. Such documents of Kharoṣṭhi with Brahmi indicate that some of the Niya inscriptions go back to the Indo-scythian period.

The Niya variety of script is more or less a modified form of the Kuṣāna type of Kharoṣṭhi as found in the wardak vase of the reign of Huviṣka (A.D. 109). One of the documents found at Endere dated in the tenth year of Avijit Siṁha, King of Khotan is written in a script and dialect different from the rest. It perhaps represents the administrative language and script of Khotan while those of Niya documents represent the administrative language of the Shan-Shan Kingdom.

Language of the documents :

The documents are written in a variety of Indian Prakrit mixed with foreign words. This seems to be the administrative language of Shan-Shan of Kroraina of about the 3rd Century A.D. The original home of the Indian variety of Prakrit was very likely north-western Indian in the region of Peshawar as it agrees with the Post-Aśokan Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions of N. Western India and partially with the Prakrit version of Dhammapada.[115]

It exhibits also some characteristics in common with the modern Dardic languages.

A few special characteristics of Niya Prakrit are as follows :

i) ri is used for r

ii) interchange a with S & Ś, e.g. Sasana for Śasana ; manus a for manusa

iii) verbal forms : Sruniti, apruchitti 39.

iv) infinitives : anaye, karamanae, deyamnae.

v) use of tv for tm : e.g. atva for atma.

Kharoṣṭhi documents with official contents

A great portion of the documents contain official correspondence and records of various kinds such as reports and orders to local officials on matters of administration and police, complaints, summonses, directions for the supply of transport and to persons travelling on public business. Here is given an example of Kharoṣṭhi documents with official contents.

Obverse :

(1) Chojhbo bhimaya sothamga—lpipesa ca mahānuava mahārāya lihati

(2) sa ca matra deti sa ca ahono isa sameka vimnaveti yathā esa khotamnami dutiyaya gada calmadanade

(3) valaga ditamti yava socammi gada sacade valaga ditamti

Reverse :

(1) yava nimammi gada ninade yava Khotamnami cadodade valaga dadavo hoati [yava kho] tam.

(2) yahi eda kilamudra atra esati pratha yahi purvika ninde Khotamnammi valagasa parikreya

(3) tena vidhanena sadha ayogena dadavo yatha dhamena nici kartavo[116]

Translation

His majesty......sameka informs us that he went as an envoy to Khotan. From Calmadana they gave him a guard and he went as far as Saca. From Saca they gave him a guard and he went as far as Nina. From Nina to Khotan a guard should have been provided from Cadota. As far as Khotan—When this sealed wedge tablet reaches you, the hire of a guard from Nina to Khotan is to be handed over according as it was formerly paid, along with an extra sum. A decision is to be made according to the law.[117]

Designation of ruler in Kharoṣṭhi documents :

The ruler in whose name the official orders etc. are issued is given in the initial formula of the wedge-shaped tablets only the brief title "mahānuva maharaya" corresponding to Sanskrit "mahānubhava mahārājā" (His Excellency the Great King).[118] We find besides the above title coupled with the designation of devaputra,[119] which recalls the official style of the Kuṣāna or Indo-Scythian Kings as observed in their inscriptions in their Indian territories.

Personal names in Kharoṣṭhi documents :

Many of the persons to or by whom documents are dispatched bear names which are either purely Indian, such as Bhima, Bangusena, Nandasena, Samasena, Sitaka, Upajīva.[120] But others are distinctly non-Indian, e.g. Lipeya, Opgeya, Limira, Mamngaya, Tsmaya.[121] A few like Pasaspa and Cinaphara, suggest Iranian influence in their origin or formation.[122]

Official titles

Some of the most frequently occurring titles borne by these officials are wholly non-Indian such as Cojhbo, Sothaṁgha, Kala.[123] But the official designations familiar from ancient Indian usage are also met with e.g. divira 'clerk', 'cara' secret agent, rayadvarpurasthita, 'president of the royal court.[124]

Mention of *ancient local names*

For the old topography too, of this and the adjoining regions the Kharoṣṭhi documents are certain to furnish valuable materials. The antiquity of the name Khotan, in its present form, attested by the Khotamna and Khodana of these records.[125]

FOOTNOTES

1. Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist literature found in Eastern Turkestan*, Vol. I, p. XXIX.
2. Winternitz, *History of Indian literature*, Vol. II, p. 236.
3. For detailed treatment see infra.
4. *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. II.
5. Sten Konow, *Festschrift Windisch*, p. 96 f.
6. S. Levi, *Fragments de Textes Koutcheen's Udānavarga, Udānastotra, Udānalamkara et Karmavibhaṇga.*
7. J. Filliozat, *Fragments de Textes Koutcheens de medicine et de Magie.* 1948, p. 31.
8. *JRAS* 1925, p. 623 ff. *Sanskrit names of drugs in Kuchenan.* A.C. Woolner, Part IV, October.
9. Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist literature found in Turkestan*, Vol. I, p. XXIX.
10. H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese Buddhist Texts*, Vol. III.
11. *Ibid.*, Vol. I.
12. *Ibid.*, Vol. V.
13. Āgama is a term standing for Nikāya in Pāli.
14. Nānjio, *A catalouge of the Chinese Buddhist Tripiṭaka.*
15. Akanuma, *The comparative catalogue of Chinese Agamas and Pāli Nikāyas.*
16. *Four Buddhist Agamas in Chinese.* Translations of the Asiatic Society of Japan 1908.
17. *Ibid*, p. 71 ff.
18. *Ibid*, p. 67 ff.
19. *Ibid*, p. 77 ff.
20. Akanuma, *The comparative Catalogue of Chinese Agamas and Pāli Nikāyas*, p: 172 ff.
21. Anesaki, *Four Buddhist Agamas in Chinese*, pp. 77-140.

22. *Ibid*, p. 109 ff.
23. *Vinayapiṭaka*, Vol. I, p. 233 sqq.
24. *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 108.
25. Senart, *Mahāvastu*.
26. *Ariyapariyesan sutta*, *Majjhima Nikāya*, p. 167.
27. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 285.
28. Cowell & Neil, *Divyāvadāna*.
29. *Ibid*, p. 333, "*Agamacatuṣṭayam*".
30. *Ibid*, p. 33.
31. U. Wogihara, *Abhidharmakośa of Yasomitra*, p. 335.

** The page references are to be Prof. U. Wogihara's Abhidharmakosavyakhya of Yosamitra, Vol. I-V.

32. R. Pischel, *SBA*. 1904; *Tung-pao*, Vol. V, 1904, p. 297 ff.
33. Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature Found in Eastern Turkestan*, p. 17.
34. Nanjio, *A Catalogue of the Chinese translation of th: Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, No. 545, Col. 136.
35. *Ibid*, No. 938.
36. *Dīghanikāya*, Vol. III, pp. 194 ff.
37. Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature Found in Eastern, Turkestan*, Vol. I, p. 26.
38. Nanjio, *A Calalogue of the Chinese translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka, facs*. 32, *No. 542*, Col. 131.
39. *Majjhimanikāya*, P.T.S. Vol. I, pp. 371-87.
40. Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan*, Vol. I, p. 26.
41. *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 26.
42. *Majjhimanikāya*, P.T.S. Vol. III, pp. 202-6.
43. Nanjio, *A Catalogue of the Chinese translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, No. 542, Col. 132.
44. *Ibid*, No. 542, 610, 611, 739 and 783.
45. *Majjhimanikāya*, Vol. II, pp. 204-5.
46. *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 204.
47. *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 205.
48. *Samyuttanikāya*, P.T.S. Feer's edition. Part I, pp. 190-93.
49. *Ibid*, P.T.S. Vol. II, p. 198 ff.
50. Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literatnre found in Eastern Turkestan*, p. 69.
51. Bunyiu Nanjio. *op. cit*, No. 544, Col. 135.
52. Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan*, p. 45.

53. *Indentifizierung einer Handschrift des Nidanasaṁyukta aus den Turfan, Funden, ZDMG.* 1957, p. 372-401.
54. *Taisho Issaikyo*, No. 99, Vol. II, p. 95c; *Nanjio* No. 544.
55. Waldschmidt, *A Fragment from the Samyuktagāma*, Adyar Library Bulletin, Vol. XX, parts 3-4, pp. 213-228.
56. *Samyuttanikāya*, Vol. II, p. 104 ff.
57. U. Wogihara, *Abhidharmakoṣa of Yosamitra*, p. 33.
58. *Nanjio*, Col. 1365.
59. For details Dr. A. C. Banerjee, *Sarvāstivāda literature*, p. 79 ff.
60. For details, N. Dutt, *Gilgit mannscripts*, Vol. III.
61. Takakusu. *Buddhist practices in India*, Intro. XVIII.
62. Chou-Hsiang Kuang, *Indo-Chinese Relations*, pp. 151-53.
63. Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of the Buddhist Literature faund in Eastern Turkestan*, p. 8.
64. L. Finot, *Prātimokṣa des Sarvāstivādins, JAS*, 1913.
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67. La Valleé Poussin and Riddings, *Bhikṣunī Karmavacana.*
68. E. Waldschmidt, *Beiträge zur Textges chichte des Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra.*
69. *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, p. 580 ff.
70. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 294.
72. *Ibid*, p. 295 ff.
73. Buddhist Sanskrit Texts No. 6.
74. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 304.
75. Kern, *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, X.
76. *Ibid*, p. 140.
77. Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature in Eastern Turkestan*, p. 140 ff.
78. *Ibid*, pp. 162-65.
79. For details see chapter IV. Dr. N. Dutt, *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its relation to Hinayāna.*
80. Sten Konow, *Central Asian fragments of the Aṣṭadasasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā.* p. 1 ff.
81. *Ibid*, p. 3.
82. *Ibid*, p. 69.
83. For details see Sten Konow, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* No. 69. p. 13-35.
84. *Ibid*, p. 36 ff.

85. B. B. Bidyabinod, *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India*, No. 32.
86. *Ibid*, No. 32, p. 2-3.
87. *Ibid*, No. 69, p. 21 ff.
88. F. E. Pargiter. Vajracchedikā in Hoernle. *Manuscript Remains of the Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan*, pp. 176-195.
89. *Ibid*, p. 113.
90. *Ibid*, p. 115.
91. *Ibid*, p. 109.
92. *Ibid*, p. 111.
93. *Ibid*, pp. 100-104.
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95. *Ibid*, pp. 116-121.
96. *Ibid*, p. 87.
97. *Ibid*, p. 53.
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99. J.R.A.S. 1927. Levi S. *Drāṣṭantapankti et son auteur.*
100. Takakusu. *Buddhist Practices in India* pp. 156 ff.
101. Hoernle. *Bower Manuscripts*, Part II, p. 26.
102. *Ibid*, Part II, p. 77 ff.
103. *Ibid*, Part III, p. 185.
104. *Ibid*, Part IV, p 192.
105. *Ibid*, Part VI, p. 236.
106. Sten Konow. *A Medical Text in Khotanese*, p. 14.
107. *Ibid*, p. 15.
108. *Ibid*, p. 78-79.
109. A. M. Boyer, E. J. Rapson and E. Senart. *Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein*, Part I-III.
110. T. Burrow, *The language of Kharoṣṭhi documents from Chinese Turkestan.*
111. B.S.O.S. VIII 433-34.
112. *Ibid*, VIII 433-34.
113. Stein. *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. I, p. 369.
114. A Stein. *Archæological exploration in Chinese Turkestan*, p. 53.
115. B.S.O.S. Vol. VIII.
116. Boyer, Rapson & Senart. *Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions at Niya, Endere and Lou-lan sites* Part I, No. 14.
117. T. Burrow. *A translation of Kharoṣṭhi Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, p. 3.
118. *Ibid*, Part I-III.

119. Boyer, Rapson & Senart, *Kharoṣṭhi Inscription at Niya, Endere and Lou-lan sites* Part I-III, sec. NXV. 155. XV. 166.
120. *Ibid.*
121. *Ibid.*
122. *Ibid.*
123. *Ibid.*
124. *Ibid.*
125. *Ibid,* Part I, Niya 1. 104 & 16.

CHAPTER IV

MONASTIC LIFE IN CENTRAL ASIA AND ITS SECULARISM AND INDEPENDENCES

The Monastic system in the post-Aśokan period :

The monastic life in India as well as in Central Asia underwent a great change in course of seven centuries that intervened between the days of Aśoka and those of Nālandā Kārle and Nāsik with corresponding the changes in Central Asian monastic life. It appears that about the 3rd or 4th Century A.D. the monks depended less on the collection of alms and robes by begging and more on the food and robes procured from the income derived from the donations of lands, gardens, gold, silver and other valuables. In the Kārle Cave inscription at the time of Nahapāna (119-124 A.D.) his son-in-law Ṛsavadata made several gifts, one of which was the village of Vāluraka to the resident monks of Vāluraka for the maintenance of monks of the four quarters (Cātuddisa Bhikṣu Saṅgha) during the rainy season retreat (Varṣāvāsa).[1]

In the Nāsik cave inscription of the time of Nahapāna his son-in-law Ṛsavadata (Ushavadata) dedicated a cave to the monks of the four quarters and made a permanent endowment of 3000 Kahāpanas for the robes and other requisites of the monks residing in that cave during the Varṣāvāsa of this sum, 2000 Kahāpanas were to be inverted in the guilds Govardhana and 1000 Kahāpanas in the guilds of Chikhalapadra at different rates of interest. The interest of the former sum was to be utilised for the robes of 20 monks who would enter into Varṣāvāsa in that cave while the interest of the latter sum for other requisites that might be needed by the monks.[2]

Another cave inscription at Nāsik of the same period records that a merchant Ramanaka bestowed to the monks residing during the Varṣāvāsa in that cave. 100 Kahāpanas

to be spent at the rate of 12 Kahāpanas for the Civara only of each monk.[3]

From these inscriptions it is quite evident that provisions of food and robes for monks were made by the devotees with the income derived from cash endowments or from produce of lands donated to the Saṅgha while Hiuen-Tsang[4] writes about the monks of Nālandā that the king of the country remitted the revenue of about 100 villages for the maintenance of monks. Two hundred villages contributed daily 700 piculs[5] of rice and several hundred cotties[6] of milk and butter. Hence the resident monks and novices had enough of supply of their necessaries of life and did not require to seek the four requisites[7] by begging which was one of the conditions of a monk's life. We are told that I-tsing stayed at Nālandā for a long time. He writes that the monastery of Nālandā was in possession of more than 200 villages bestowed by several kings. The statements of the Chinese pilgrims are ample corroboration in the two inscriptions on clay-seals discovered at Nālandā running as follows :—

(a) Sri-Nālandā - Prabaddha - Anganigrāma vihārastha-janapadasya

(b) Sri-Nālandā-pratiboddha Mamnayika grāma janapadasya.

These legends indicate that there were groups of villages attached to the monastery of Nālaṇdā. There are also clay-seals, which simply mention the name of a village, i.e. Shakavannaka Grāmasya. There is, besides these clay-seals, the famous inscription of Devapāla, who complied at the request of Bālaputradeva, king of Sūvarṇadvīpa, belonging to the Sailendra dynasty of Jāvā (Javadvīpa), to construct a monastery and to grant five villages for the maintenance of the bhikṣus of the four quarters, Bodhisattvas versed in Tantras and the eight ariya-puggalas.[8] Here is given the relevant passage from Dr. Hirananda Sastri's translated into English. The inscription thus : "Be it known to you (all officers, local leaders) that the five villages (namely Naṇdivānaka, Manivā-

taka, Natika, Hasti and Palamaka) together with the undivided lands attached to them, unbroken upto their boundaries, grass and pasture lands, with their grounds, places, mango and madhuka trees with their water and dry lands, uparikaras, dasaparadhas, chauroddharana free from troubles, exempt from the entry of the chatas (village officers), and bhatas with all taxes due to the king's court with nothing of them to be recovered,......excluding the gifts to gods and the Brāhmaṇas which were granted before and were enjoyed or are being enjoyed, are granted by us for the increase of the spiritual merit and glory of our parents and of ourselves................. for the offerings, oblations, shelter, garments, alms, beds, requisites of the sick like medicines etc.......for writing the dharma-ratnas (scriptures) and for the upkeep and repair of the monastery......The residents (of the village) also should be obedient to the order on hearing it and should bring to the donees (i.e. the saṅgha) at the proper time the due revenues, such as bhagabhogakara (share of crops), gold etc. There is another inscription of Malada, son of a minister of king Yośavarman, the relevant passage is quoted below with slight changes made in Dr. Hirananda Sastri's English translation.[9]

"Here Malada himself brought with great devotion for the Bhagavān Buddha the pious permanent grant (akṣaya-nivika) pure water as cool as nectar and for the shining lamp, the offerings of clarified butter and curds.

Under the order of the bhikṣu saṅgha, he distributed daily in a fitting manner rice with (various) preparations, curds and copious ghee. He offered himself to the saṅgha and then by giving purchase-money (lit. he purchased himself) he got himself released from the ārya saṅgha and offered the money for the monk's robes (civarika). He also gave away to the saṅgha, comfortable cells for sleeping (layanam) places of monks".

Secularism in monastic life (pre-Aśokan days)

In pre-Aśokan days the Buddhist monks were devoted

exclusively to the religious, spiritual and ecclesiastical practices without giving the least attention to economic activities. The fact that the monks lived as a corporate body in fixed abodes, usually, in the monasteries specially built for them cannot do away wholly with certain secular functions. The monasteries were no doubt provided by the lay devotees but these had to be planned and constructed according to the requirements of the monks. It is found in the Vinayapiṭaka that for the proper management of the corporate body, a number of office-bearers were selected and appointed. Such appointments were made formally by the assembly of monks (saṅgha) by three announcements and with the unanimous consent of the members present. The monks usually selected were of the best type and were supposed to be free from impulses (chanda), hatred or ill-will (doṣa), delusion or misconception (moha) and fear or diffidence (bhaya). It will be apparent from the functions of the office-bearers that the monks had to give some attention to certain secular affairs apart from their main religious and spiritual duties. Here is given a brief account of the office-bearers as found in the vinaya texts :—

I. *Bhattuddesaka* [10] (*distributor of food*) :

From the Cullavagga we learn that in Rājagaha there was once a famine and it became extremely difficult for the people to maintain supply of food to the community of monks (saṁghabhaṭṭa). This emergency necessitated the appointment of impartial distributor of food. When this matter was brought to the notice of Buddha, he allowed gifts of food specially meant for some monks (uddesabhaṭṭa). It was done by handing over sticks to the distributor of food for a certain number of monks, whom a householder could afford to feed (salakabhaṭṭa) or by a general invitations of all monks on particular days, viz. eighth day, new-moon or fullmoon day, the uposatha day or the first day (Pratipad) of a fortnight (Pākkhika, Uposathika, Paṭipādika).

II. *Bhaṇḍagārika*[11] (*store-keeper*) :

The lay-devotees offered robes and other requisites to the monks, as there was no fixed house, the articles were kept carelessly at various spots, which were sometimes spoiled, and so it was decided that there should be a store house. It could be a part of the monastery, a separate pinnacled house or a building or a cave. Along with the introduction of the store house a monk was selected by the Saṅgha to be in charge of the store house. He was called a Bhaṇḍagārika who was expected to be well-balanced mentally and knew which of the articles were to be stored or not (guttaguttañca jāneyya). As the bhaṇḍagārika was not always available, subsidiary Office-Bearers were selected from among the monks and were put in charge of particular objects as for instance (i) the civarapatiggāhaka[12] (robes receiver) ; (ii) sātiyagahāpaka[13] (receiver of clothes for) ; (iii) Pattagahāpaka[14] (receiver of bowls). Similarly there were receivers of the different kinds of food. In course of time difficulties arose in the distribution of stored articles. To avoid dissatisfactions among the monks and improper allocation of goods, several monks were selected as office-bearers e.g. civarabhājaka,[15] yāgubhājaka,[16] phalabhājaka,[17] khajjabhājaka,[18] appamattavisajjaka[19] (distributor of robes, rice-gruel, fruits, dry food, minor articles). In the matter of distribution also several rules were framed to guide the office-bearers.

III. *Senāsanapaññāpaka*[20] :

With the influx of monks in a monastery, sometimes it became difficult to find suitable accommodation for all of the monks. In order to remove this inconvenience in accommodation, a monk was selected as an office-bearer for the distribution of beds and seats (senāsanapaññāpaka).

IV. *Navakammika and Navakammikās*[21] :

When Buddha was staying at Vesālī, a poor weaver wanted to construct a monastery with mud and bricks. He expressed

dissatisfaction for not getting a monk to encourage him and to give him instruction in Dhamma. When this matter was brought to the notice of the Teacher, he directed that a monk should be appointed by the three announcements of the Saṅgha as Navakammika i.e. supervisor of the construction and repair of the monastery. For small works a bhikkhu of five or six years standing, for medium works like pinnacled monasteries a monk of seven or eight years standing and for large monasteries a monk of ten or twelve years standing should be deputed. There should be in no case two supervisor monks for one monastery. The monks so deputed must dwell near the monastery and not elsewhere. This bhikkhu should abide by the rules of the Saṅgha. It is found in the Vinayapiṭaka that the Jetavanavihāra built with the money of Anāthapiṇḍika at Sāvatthi was probably planned by a monk well-acquainted with the vinaya rules for the construction of different kinds of rooms and appurtenances to a monastery. In this vihāra there were dwelling rooms, cells, gate chambers, service halls, halls with fire-places, store houses, closets, cloisters, places for walking exercises, walls, sheds for the well, bathing places, bath rooms, tanks pavilions[22] (vihāra, parivena, koṭṭhaka, upaṭṭhānasālā, aggisālā, kappiyakuṭi, vaccakuṭi, caṅkama, caṅkamasālā, udapāna, udapānasālā, jantāghara, jantāgharasālā, pokkharaṇi, maṇḍapa).

The construction of monastery for nuns (bhikkhunupanissaya) by the grand son of Migaramātā (Visākha) was supervised by Sundarinanda.[23] The functions of such an office-bearer, though of a temporary nature, could be described as secular. Hence secularism of a limited character formed an aspect of the monastic life of the early Buddhist monks and nuns.

V. *Āramika*[24] :

It is said that King Bimbisāra offered āramika to Pilindavaccha. Buddha agreed ultimately to acceptance of such gardeners. Later on, Bimbisāra directed his chief minister

to give hundred āramikas to Pilindavaccha. These āramikas are settled in a village. They expected to render services to the Saṅgha as required by the monks.

VI. *Āramikapesaka*[25] :

In course of time it was found that such āramikas (attendance of gardeners) when deputed for certain works they neglected to do the work. So the system of selecting of monk as āramikapesaka (despatcher of attendance) whose duty was to select a right attendant who discharged his duties properly.

Proprietorship of the Saṅgha of the four quarters :

Secularism in monastic life is not only apparent in respect of the appointment of office-bearers as indicated above, but also in the proprietorship of the Saṅgha of the monastic properties and also in the distribution of the articles which belonged personally to a deceased monk. The rule laid down by Buddha was that the monasteries were to be donated to a saṅgha of the four quarters, present and future (āgatanugata cātuddisa saṅgha).[26] This rule was also applied in the case of Jetavanavihāra which was given by Anāthapiṇḍika to the Master himself. The donee i.e. Saṅgha had neither the power to transfer the properties nor to divide it among themselves. The restriction of non-inalienability was applied not only to the landed property but also to trees, shrubs, fruits, furnitures, utensils and the like. There was no succession of such monastic properties from the teacher to his disciple as was the custom in some of the contemporary religions. The articles used by the deceased monks were distinguished as light or heavy. Those of the light type like robes, bowl and such other articles could be distributed by the Saṅgha among the monks who nursed the ailing monk before his death. Those of the heavy type like seats, beds etc. were indivisible.

Three Nissaggiya Pācittiya rules

In the Pāli Pātimokkha-sutta as well as in its Sanskrit

versions of the Sarvāstivādins and the Mūlasarvāstivādins, there appear three rules, prescribing that a monk must give up within a week or so anything received by way of gifts of coins, gold and silver, barter of goods, and sale and purchase of any article. The rules are as follows :—

1. "Yo pana bhikkhu jātarūparajatam ugganheyya vā ugganhapeyya vā upanikkhittam vā sadiyeyya nissaggiyam pācittiyam"[27] (Pāli version, Nissaggiya Pācittiya—XVIII).

Yah punar bhikṣuh svahastam rupyam udgṛhniyad vā udgrahayed vā nikṣiptam vā sadhyon niḥsargika patayantika (Sanskrit version)[28].

"If any monk accepts or directs another to accept or acknowledge the deposit of gold and silver he will have to give it up".

2. Yo pana bhikkhu nānāppakarakam rupiyasam-vohāram samapajjeyya nissaggiyam pācittiyam (Pāli version, Nissaggiya Pācittiya XIX).

Yah punar-bhikṣu nānāprakaram rupya vyāvaharam samapadyeta nihsargitta patayantika (Sanskrit version).

"If any monk trades in or exchanges silver articles wrought and unwrought he will leave to give it up".

3. Yo pana bhikkhu nānāppakarakam kaya vikkayam samapajjeyya nissaggiyam pācittiyam (Pāli version, Nissaggiya Pācittiya XX).

Yah punar bhikṣur nānāprakaram kraya vikrayam samapadyeta nihsargitta pātayantika (Sanskrit version).

"If any monk engages himself in sale and purchase of any articles he will have to give it up".

The fact that in the Pātimokkha Sutta there were interdictions against acceptance by monks of gold and silver or other coins, barter of metal goods, sale and purchase of articles like robes, bowls etc. implies that these rules were laid down to prohibit the monks from taking any interest in economic affairs. In the Sūttavibhaṅga, an ancient commentary on the Pātimokkha Sutta, there runs a story about the non-acceptance of gold and silver. It is as follows :—

A Bhikkhu Upānanda by name asked for and accepted Kahāpanas (silver coins) in exchange of meat prepared for him. When the matter was brought to the notice of the Teacher the action of Upānanda was highly condemned by him. Jātarupa is explained as a coin of white colour i.e., silver. The other coins which were also prohibited were known as māsakas made either of iron and wood.[29]

It is enjoined that the coins offered by a lay-devotee must be given to an āramika (servitor of gardener) or an upāsaka, dwelling perhaps in or near the monastery but without any indication that the monks wanted anything in exchange of the coins. If no servitor or laity be available it must be entrusted to a reliable monk (rupiyachaddaka) to throw it away at an unknown place without leaving any mark. The Suttavibhaṅga further comments on rule XIX[30] of the Nissaggiya Pācittiya that the monks are interdicted from transactions or exchange of articles made of silver to which the chabbaggiya monks resorted. The procedure for giving them up was similar to that of the rule XVIII.

In the comments on rule XX[31] which interdict sale and purchase of any article it is said that by 'sale and purchase' is meant any article owned by a person or monk is given to another person and the latter's article is taken by the former. The articles received or purchased must be given up by the receiver. The illustrative episode in the Suttavibhaṅga proves that some monks were prone to such undesirable worldly activities.

Incidentally it may be noted that these episodes remind us of the incident which led to the session of the second Buddhist synod. The Vajjians of Vesālī introduced the practice of asking the lay-devotees who came to the monastery for sermons or worship to put in coins in a pot filled with water and placed in the hall of worship. This practice was resented by the orthodox monk Yaśa, who approached the old monks proficient in disciplinary rules to come to Vesālī in order to suppress this practice of the Vajjians. The Vajjian

monks did not listen to the direction of the orthodox group of monks and started a new sect calling it the Mahāsaṅghikas as distinguished from the orthodox group known as the Theravāda. The Mahāsaṅghika monks considered the offering of coins in a pot of water was permissible according to the Vinaya rules which prohibited the monks only from receiving coins by hands. The offering of coins in the manner mentioned above was included in the ten deviations introduced by the Mahāsaṅghikas from the original Vinaya rules.

In the Dulva (Tibetan translation of the Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya) the term Jātaruparajatagahanam of the Mahāsaṅghikas has been explained in further details. The translations of these details have been made by Prof. Louis de la Vallee Poussin and Dr. E. Obermiller thus :—

I. *Louis de la Vallee Poussin* :

"The monks anoint an alms-bowls such as were round, pure and suitable for ritual, anointing them with perfumes, fumigating them with incense, adorning them with various fragrant flowers placed on the head of a monk over a cushion went about the highways, streets and cross-roads crying as follows "Here, ye people who have come from various towns and countries and ye wise people of Veśālī ! This pātra is a lucky one, if you give in it is to give much or whoever shall fill it obtain a great fruit, a great advantage, a great activity, a great development."

II. *Obermiller* :

"The monks anoint an alms-bowl with fragrant spices put it on the head of a śramaṇa or on a table or a seat or in a narrow passage of the four cross roads and proclaim : This is a sublime vessel, if you deposit your gifts in it and fill it, you are to reap great merit".

From the two translations given above it is evident that in the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya the unhealthy practice of the Mahāsaṅghikas was in vogue at the time of the compilation of this Vinaya.

Vinaya texts of five sects in Chinese version on inalienability of monastic properties :

Three of the five texts extant only in Chinese translation belonging to the Sarvāstivāda, Mahisāsaka and Dharmagupta sects appear to have followed closely the rules of the Theravādins, as presented in the Pāli version of the Vinayapiṭaka. It may be observed that the translator of these three texts were mostly Indian and Central Asian :

i) Sarvāstivādavinaya by Kumārajīva and Punyatrāta, an Indian monk, residing in Central Asia in 404-418 A.D.

ii) Mahiśāsakavinaya by Buddhajīva, a monk of Kubha (Kabul) and resident of Central Asia in 424 A.D., and

iii) Dharmagupta vinaya by Buddhayaśas, a monk of Kubha and resident of Central Asia in 408 A.D.

The other two vinaya texts of the Mahāsaṅghikas and Mūlasarvāstivādins relaxed many of the strict rules of the sects mentioned above. Of these two vinaya texts,

iv) Mahāsaṅghikavinaya was translated by Buddhabhadra, an Indian yogī in 416 A.D. The original vinaya of the sect was collected by Fa-Hien and taken to China.

v) Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya by I-tsing (7th century) the famous pilgrim, who studied this vinaya in S.E. Asia and India.

The fact that a large portion of manuscript of the original vinaya of this sect was discovered at Gilgit, which was in the orbit of influence of the Central Asian monks indicates that in the 5th/6th century A.D., Mūlasarvāstivāda was one of the prevailing sects of the Central Asian region. I-tsing in his itinerary records his own observations on the contents of this vinaya, pointing out the extent to which the Chinese monks differed from the Indian monks shows also that the vinaya of this later sect became current in China through Central Asia.

Sarvāstivāda, Mahiśāsaka and Dharmagupta vinaya

The vinaya texts of the three sects Sarvāstivāda Mahi-

śāsaka and Dharmaguptas follow closely he Theravāda ecclesiastical rules in general. There are a few references to the economic aspects of monastic life, such as (i) inalienability of major offerings made by the lay-devotees. These are :

(a) Land for residence of monks of the four quarters.
(b) Buildings or permanent structures constructed for monasteries and their appurtenances.
(c) Fruits and flowers of gardens belonging to the monasteries.
(d) Cultivable lands.
(e) Other objects of utility (garubhanda = lit. heavy articles)[32]

Ownership of all the above mentioned objects vested in the saṅgha of the four quarters. It was the duty of the resident monks (āvāsika bhikkhu) to guard and maintain them. They had no power to transfer them by sale or partition. The only goods of a light nature (lahubhanda) which could be distributed by the resident monks among themselves were robes, bowls, food and minor articles (parikkhara) like needles, straining cloth, bowl-hangers and medicine or medical food. The Mahāsiṅghikas and the Mūlasavastivādam also subscribed to the above views.

On the three Nissaggiya Pācittiya rules regarding non-acceptance of gold & silver. XVIII

The Sarvāstivādins made the slight deviation that contact with coin pieces of iron, lead copper in small quantities might be treated as a minor offence (duskṛta, dukkaṭa), the doners should hand over gold coins and other valuables to a novice (sāmanera) ; if a novice be not available, they should offer them to the saṅgha of the four quarters.[33]

The Mahiśāsakas were as strict as the Theravādins that is for immediate rejection whereas the Dharmaguptas[34] held that gifts of value were to be entrusted to an āramika (garden keeper) or an upāsaka or a lay-devotee,

The Mahāsaṅghikas made a liberal interpretation of the rule, as is to be found in the account of the Second Buddhist Council (see above p. 124). In the vinaya of this sect, it is prescribed that for maintaining moral purity, monks were prohibited from touching by hand gold and silver metals or coins, but the collection of such gifts of precious metal was necessary for the maintenance of the Saṅgha, and so a novice or a lay-devotee should handle and preserve these metals and coins for the use and benefit of the Saṅgha.

A novice or a lay-devotee was also entrusted to take charge of cultivable lands for production of food crops for the consumption of the Saṅgha. In this vinaya it is also found that this practice of collecting coins in a pot was not only allowed but there were also directions as to how the coins were to be utilised for the benefit of the Triratna (Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha). It is rather interesting to note that in the Chinese version the restrictions imposed by the Nissaggiya Pācittiya rules were released in different degrees. It is, however, not known whether or not these relaxations appeared in the original vinaya of the Mahāsaṅghikas or were later additions made by the Chinese translators. Thus our study of the Vinayapiṭaka reveals that the Indian monks even in the pre-Aśokan days, were not wholly immune from secular or economic affairs.

Mūlasarvāstivāda :

The Mūlasarvāstivādins observed the rule of non-acceptance of gold and silver strictly. In the Vinaya direct acceptance of gold and silver is interdicted with the additional instructions that if a monk intends to construct a monastery he should seek land, timber, cart and workers but not gold or silver or any other kind of money. Even, if the robe of a monk is torn to shreds, he must not venture to receive money for same from a donor. Buddha declared that an āramika or an upāsaka must take charge of improper and untouchable (akappiya) gifts and keep them in reserve, concealing them in a pit, for the benefit of the Saṅgha.

Regarding the *prohibition of barter* (*vohāra or vyāvahāra Nissaggiya Pācittiya* XIX) : There runs a story of Upānanda in the Mahiśāsaka vinaya[35]. Upānanda exchanged a robe in barter with a new one of a heretic. The companions of the heretic objected to such exchange and asked him to annul it but Upānanda refused it, but according to the vinaya rules, he could not keep it more than seven days. Buddha condemned such barter or exchange, laying seeking more valuable things by such exchange was improper.

In the Dharmagupta vinaya[36] it is stated that it is not proper to pay for food and lodging as was done by Upānanda by the barter of ginger. In this Vinaya, the story of Upānanda of exchanging an old robe with a new one is repeated. Barter (vohāra) is explained in the Suttavibhaṅga (Pāli) as trading by barter with silver wrought or unwrought for some essential requirements of monks.

In Sarvāstivādavinaya appears the story of Upānanda about exchange of a robe with another robe or a bowl. If there be dispute between the two monks, it must be re-exchanged within 7 days.

It was further laid down that if a monk sold or purchased an article with profit but did not purchase or sell the same with profit, it was a minor offence but if he sold or purchased the article with profit in both cases it cause under the purview of the rule N.S. XIX. Sale by auction within the community was however allowed.

As far as barter was concerned, we see in the vinaya of the Mahāsaṅghika that the chabbaggiya monks purchased all sorts of articles of food from the market. Buddha condemned such practice and more so, the acquisition of such merchandise for sale among the monks of the Saṅgha. Nevertheless, barter, sale and purchase were permitted in a large measure depending on intention and circumstances. Such casuistry was a particular development of the Mahāsaṅghikas.

The paragraph in the Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya on rupika vyavahāra is very short. The Chinese title of this rule is tch'ou-na-k'ieou-li which means "search of profit by means of commerce". This title is a development of the ancient term rupika-vyavahāra. The Mūlasarvāstivādins followed more or less the unhealthy practices of the Mahāsaṅghikas which must have been in vogue at the time of the Chinese translation of the vinaya texts.

Prohibition of sale and purchase (kraya vikraya N.P. XX)

The Mahiśāsakavinaya gives an episode of Nanda and Upānanda. They availed themselves of gold and silver and of coins in gold, silver and other metals for purchasing some articles. They purchased those articles and sold them at profit and converted the profit into gold, silver as also coins. In the vinaya of this sect it is prescribed that the profit thus earned must be abandoned to the Saṅgha and could not be divided among two or three persons. If the Saṅgha decided upon its rejection it was to be thrown away in a pit, fire, stream etc. If it was not thrown away, it must be handed over to an upāsaka who could in its exchange purchase robes or food for the Saṅgha.

In the Dharmagupta vinaya a bhikkhu could accept money for travelling purposes. All transactions of sale and purchase were condemned in the vinaya of this sect including exchange of unwrought precious metals with wrought ones or vice-versa. The articles so acquired must be handed over to an āramika or upāsaka, who could exchange it for robes, bowls, needles and furniture for the Saṅgha.

In the Sarvāstivādavinaya[37] it is stated that the chabbaggiya monks took possession of the metals thrown away previously. The monks erected buildings, installed markets for gold, slaves, forges for making copper articles and treatment of pearls, troops of elephants, horses, camels, bulls etc. as also of slaves and other classes of workers and thereby did harm to the property of the locality. The people resented

their activities and brought them to the notice of Buddha who condemned all sorts of dealings with precious metals and exchange of wrought and unwrought metals as also traffic of money. If the quantity be small it could be rejected and if the quantity be large it must be handed over to an upāsaka and in the absence of an upāsaka it must be dedicated to the Saṅgha of the four quarters.

Regarding *sale aud purchase* (N.P. XX) : In the Mūlasarvāstivāda the chabbaggiya monks availed themselves of all sorts of exchange i.e. taking and giving articles, purchase of objects which have a good market somewhere else. They purchased at a time when the articles of food were available in abundance and the sale was made when these became scarce.

The chabbaggiya monks resorted to all sorts of financial transaction for earning interest or profit. They advanced money against pledge of goods for earning interest. They exchanged finished goods with unfinished ones. They advised the traders to take certain objects to a place where they would sell at a profit. They collected cereals and barley in time and used to make enough profit by selling them when they became scarce. They earned interest by various means. All these were condemned by Buddha. But he allowed the donees of monasteries to accumulate wealth and invest the same to earn interest. With the interest the donees had the responsibility of maintaining the monasteries by necessary repairs from time to time.

As to sale and purchase (kraya vikraya.—N.P. XX) :—The vinaya of the Mahāsaṅghikas records that Nanda and Upānanda who had acquaintances with members of the royal palace purchased gold from them and had it set by a goldsmith with jewels. Then they send a śramaṇa to the houses of the nobility to sell the ornaments. They contended that they were not selling gold. Buddha condemned such sale and

prohibited sale of both wrought and unwrought precious metals.

On the basis of the statements found in the Chinese version of the vinaya texts of the five sects, the following conclusions can be drawn :—

(a) All the five sects admitted the ownership of the Saṅgha of the four quarters present and future of monastic properties like land, buildings, gardens of fruits and flowers, cultivable lands as also gold, silver coins and other precious metals as also their partition and inalienability among the resident monks.

(b) They also admitted that the cultivable lands and valuables must be in charge of a garden keeper (āramika) or a novice (samanera) or a lay-devotee (upāsaka). The produce of lands and interest earned from the investment of gold and silver coins or the precious metals were to be utilised for the use and benefit of monks, who, however, must keep themselves aloof from the affairs of management.

(c) All the five sects differed from one another in respect of the interpretation of the three rules, section Nissaggiya Pācittiya (=Sanskrit Naihsargika Prāyascittika) of the Pātimokkha. The three rules direct that a monk must give up the article of gift and atone for (i) touching them by hand, (ii) for exchanging or otherwise dealing with the same, and (iii) for making direct sales and purchases, evidently with a motive of profit.

(d) Of the five sects, three viz. Mahiśāsaka, Dharmagupta and Sarvāstivāda may be grouped under the orthodox category and the Mahāsaṅghika and the Mūlasarvāstivāda under the liberal category, if not non-Buddhistic.

(i) The Mahiśāsakas were the most orthodox of the group. They were as strict as the Theravādins. They favoured immediate rejection of such articles of gift, which fell under the first two rules and for the third they made an exception that in the matter of sale and purchase, if the amount was

large, it should be left to an upāsaka to take charge for utilising it for the use and benefit of the Saṅgha. They Dharmaguptas and the Sarvāstivādins subscribed to the views of the Mahiśāsakas with the modification that all articles of gifts falling under three rules must be left to the charge of a layman, attached to the monastery and the income could be utilised for the benefit of the Saṅgha. The Sarvāstivādins regarded mere contact with gold and silver was a minor offence.

The other two sects, the Mahāsaṅghikas and the Mūlasarvāstivādins made liberal interpretation, the latter surpassing the former in latitude. The liberal attitude of the Mahāsaṅghikas became evident at the time of their secession from the Theravādins in the second synod. The Mahāsaṅghikas, however, observed the first rule strictly and advocated that all valuable articles of gift should be left to the charge of a novice or a lay-devotee of the Saṅgha in general. The Mūlasarvāstivādins, which sect came into a being at a late date perhaps in the 4th or 5th century A.D. went to the farthest length in the matter of earning interest on investment, exchanging for profit and realising profit by sale and purchase but they adhered to the condition that all economic or financial transactions must be done on behalf of the Saṅgha by a layman.

All the five sects of Buddhism, mentioned above, happened to have followers in Central Asia, with the last two sects Mahāsaṅghikas and Mūlasarvāstivādins predominating in the later period, i.e., from 4th to 7th/8th century A.D. This is evident in the few documents that have so far been discovered in that region.

Central Asia monastic life :

The direct sources, from which the monastic life of the monks of Central Asia can be reconstructed, are very meagre. These can be divided into two groups, viz.,

(a) A few manuscripts and their fragments, dealing with

monastic rules ; these fragments belong to the Vinayapiṭaka of the Sarvāstivāda and Dharmagupta schools.

(b) Stray references in the official documents discovered at Niya, Loulan and Endere.

In the former category, we may mention the following : (i) The Prātimokṣasūtra of the Sarvāstavādins (ii) Two fragments of vinaya rules relating to only for begging of alms. A detailed account of these is given in the Chapter III.

In the latter group, are the following inscriptions on wood or leather, numbering 489[38] and 511[39].

Among the indirect sources, may be mentioned the five vinaya texts extant in Chinese translations (see above p. 131) and a portion of the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya, discovered at Gilgit, which was on the route from Kashmir to Eastern Turkestan.

On the basis of these sources, it appears that the vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins and the Dharmaguptakas, and at a later date that of the Mūlasarvāstivādins were generally followed by the monks of Central Asia. I-tsing's records deal exclusively with the Mūlasarvāstivādins monastic rules and regulations while the Chinese versions of the Dharmagupta and Sarvāstivāda furnish us with information relating the economic aspects of monastic life. Prof. A. C. Banerji has made an analytical study of the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya in Tibetan version while I-tsing's records are based on the Chinese and also the Sanskrit versions of the same vinaya. It may be taken for granted that in the 5th, 6th and 7th Centuries A.D., Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya, which was not very much different from the Sarvāstivādavinaya, was the school, which prevailed in Central Asia. In view of this, a gist of I-tsing's analysis along with that of Dr. A. C. Banerji is given here as the monastic rules observed by the monks of Central Asia.

As it is not possible to obtain a fair picture of the monastic life of Central Asia from the few manuscripts and inscriptions

discovered in Central Asia it is proposed to give here a synopsis of the records of I-tsing who made the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya as his basis. The records of I-tsing deal exhaustively with the monastic rules of the Mūlasarvāstivādins pointing out here and there the deviations made by the Chinese monk. These rules are concerned with the following topics :

1. Method of ordination
2. Duties and obligations of a teacher and a pupil
3. Upavasatha i.e. uposatha
4. Vassāvāsa & pavāraṇā
5. Begging of alms, time of taking meals, mode of eating—meat and purity and impurity of food
6. Wearing of upper and under robes—robes wool or skin—use of sandals and sedan chairs
7. Acceptance of gifts, six requisites and 13 necessaries and medicines.
8. Allocation of rooms
9. Nun's dress
10. Distribution of articles of a deceased monk
11. Agriculture and division of product with reference to lands dedicated to Nālandā monastery
12. No official interference in dispute among monks.

Method of ordination[40] :

The teacher enquires of the candidate whether he has any disability which bars his admission to the Saṅgha. If he finds a candidate free from all disabilities he accepts him as a upāsaka he imparts to give precepts. The teacher then helps him to procure a paṭa (a simple cloak), a sankakṣikā, a nivāsana, a bowl and straining cloth. The candidate gets his hair and shaved by a barber and takes a bath. The teacher then presents him to the Saṅgha of Ācāryas who after examining him and ascertain that the candidate free from all impurities and gives an upper-cloak and the bowl. He is then called homeless priest "pravagita". In the presence

of his teacher (upādhyāya), the head (Ācārya) imparts to him the ten precepts he then called a śramanera. He then asks to observe twelve abstinences namely (1) improper robes as stated in the Nissaggiya Pācittiya (2) sleeping without garments, (3) to (10) as given in the Pācittiya 56 ; 35, 36, 34 ; 61 ; 11 & 20 ; 84 ; Nisaggiya XVIII & XIX ; Pācittiya 13 & 9, (11) abstinences from unoffered food, (12) injuring sprouts.

The śramanera and the śramaneris need not observe the above twelve restrictions but the Sikkhamānas should observe 8 to 12 of the above rules. These three classes of members are to observe the vassavasa. There are six special rules for women. All such persons must observe the ten Śikkhāpadas. When the novice becomes proficient in all the religious rites and reaches the acquired age he is given full ordination if he so desires. The ceremony of upasampadā is to be performed by at least ten monks[41]. The ordained bhikkhu must possess the following six requisites :

(1) Saṅghāti
(2) Uttarāsaṅgha
(3) Antaravāsa
(4) Pātra
(5) Nishidāna and
(6) Parisravana.

After the ceremony of ordination he measures the shadow, the time and the month are noted. The ordained Bhikkhu has to study the Vinayapiṭaka day after day and re-examining every morning after completing Vinayapiṭakas he reads sūtras and śāstras. After the upasampada ordination the Bhikkhus are classified as young (dahara) and old (sthavira). Those who passes ten varṣas are called sthavira, a sthavira can become an upādhyāya. One who learns the sacred and secular literatures is called 'Bahuśruta'.

ii) Duties and obligations of a Saddhivihārika (pupil) and a Upādhyāya (teacher and vice versa[42]).

I-tsing follows the Pāli vinaya Mahāvagga in defining the duties of the students to the teacher and the vice versa. The student has to render all services to the teacher, takes care of his robe and prepares a comfortable bed for the teacher. The teacher selects passages from the Tripiṭaka and explains to him all facts and theories. He inspects students' moral conduct and warns him of defects and transgressions. The fundamental principles of the doctrines of the Buddha, teaching and instruction are regarded as the first and foremost. He instructs how to perform "caityabandanā". Incidentally it remarks that the Ācarya should be distinguished from the Upādhyāya. Ācarya means "teacher of discipline of rules and ceremonies". It seems that the Ācarya was considered superior than the Upādhyāya whose main responsibility was lessons on Tripiṭaka and observing closely the moral conduct of the pupils.

iii) *Upavasatha* (*uposatha*)[43]

Posadha is explained etymologically 'posa' means nourishing and 'dha' means purifying and thus Posadha means 'nourishing good quality'. Confession can be made only of light offences and not serious like Pārājikā and Saṁghādiśeṣa[44]. The host announces the time. Preliminary preparations are made, such as

i) One clean copper utensils or an unused earthenware vessel.

ii) Seats are provided. The seats are 7″ high and one foot square. With the sitting place is made a rattan cane.

iii) In the dining hall, food is served to the monks and at the end of the meal, the monks utter one by one dānagāthā. Minute and elaborate of the food-offering by a host, who is a layman, is given in the chapter on "Upavasatha" and there is no account of actual ceremony.

In page 63 of the book[45] is mentioned that there are four Upavasatha days in every month. A large number of monks from different monasteries assemble at the hall late in the afternoon. They listened to the reading of the monastic rules, which they observed with reverence. They all observe four Upavasatha (fasting) days. The four days are the 8th and 15th days of a fortnight. On these days they are to observe particularly the following 8 precepts :—

(a) not killing
(b) not stealing
(c) not committing adultery
(d) not telling a lie
(e) not drinking an intoxicating beverage
(f) neither taking pleasure in music, nor wearing garlands and anointing with perfumes
(g) not using a high and wide coach and
(h) not taking food at forbidden hours.

The last is pointed out as the most essential

Pāli

(a) Pānātipātā veramani
(b) Adinnadāna veramani
(c) Abrahmacariya or kāmesu micchācāraveramani
(d) Musāvāda veramani
(e) Suramerayamajja pamādaṭṭhāna
(f) Naccagitavādita visuka dassana Mālāgandhavilepana dhārana mandana vibhusanaṭṭhana
(g) Uccāsayana Mahāsayana
(h) Vikalabhojana veramani

iv) *Varṣāvāsa and Pravarana*[46] :

All bhikṣus and Bhikṣunis Sikṣāmanas, Sramaneras and Sramaneris must observe the varṣāvāsa. The day on which the summer retreat is commenced is the 1st day of the dark half of the fifth or sixth moon, and ends is in the middle of

the 8th (Kārtik) or the 9th moon respectively. If a monk accepts invitation outside the limit of Retreat it is as great a fault as theft. A monk may take the leave of absence for some important affair upto 7 days, the absence of maximum 40 days may be allowed in very special circumstances. For the varśāvāsa rooms are selected and allocated according to the seniority of monks. The conclusion of summer retreat is made by the ceremony of Pavāraṇā, which means see-sse or self-indulgence. On the night of the 14th day, a preceptor is invited to recite a Buddhist sūtra. On the 15th day morning all the residents go round the towns and villages, and worship the caityas. They are accompanied by lay-devotees who bring out chariots, images in sedan-chairs. A procession called sāmagri (concord in the Saṅgha) is taken out with music, banners and canopies. At the beginning of the forenoon (9-11 A.M.) the procession returns to the monastery where a Pavāraṇā ceremony is held. In that ceremony, the monks and nuns confess their faults, if any committed during the retreat. Pavāraṇā means 'doing as one wishes' it also means satisfying and it also conveys sense of 'pointing out anothers' offence, according to his wish[47]. On the 16th day of the 8th moon, the Kaṭhina robes are spread out (Kaṭhin-astarana of Mahāvagga viii. 1.3)

In Chapter I[48] it is stated that the monks who fail to observe varṣāvāsa do not obtain the ten benefits.

(v)-(x) : It is rather striking that I-tsing does not dilate on the system of begging food and the decorum to be observed in begging rounds. From his stray remarks[49] it seems that at his time, begging of alms was at a discount and that the food of monks was prepared in the kitchen of the monastery under the superintendence of a monk or a nun, usually the latter. All that he says about food and clothing is that they are necessary for monks, which is to be attained with a healthy body and mind. In the Kaṭhina ceremony at the end of summer retreat, robes or cloth for robes are offered by the lay-devotees. At the time of I-tsing (i.e. 7th or 8th century)

the custom of offering lands and gardens to the Saṅgha by the lay-devotees came into vogue. The lands were cultivated by devotee peasants, who gave one-third of the produce to the Saṅgha, likewise the fruits and flowers of gardens were utilised by the Saṅgha. In Chapter XXXVII of the same book I-tsing justifies the practice of purchasing clothes for robes out of the sale proceeds of agricultural products though he admits that it is not expressly allowed in the vinaya text. Such purchases and making of robes were affected by the upāsaka, in charge of such lands and gardens. Hence, in Indian monasteries also the monks did not wholly depend upon gifts of food and robes by the laity, but utilised the produce of the lands and gardens for the purpose.

It seems he was struck by the cleanliness of the Indian monks at the time of taking food and after completing his meal. He devotes many pages to this topic. He does not consider eating of meat as non-permissible provided that a monk receives it as a gift. He states that the meal-time is noon ; but in case there is any delay in preparation of the food the monks or upāsakas may finish their meals in time with whatever food is ready but he remarks that he had heard that meals were of the delayed till the afternoon[50].

Every monk should have the following 6 requisites and 13 necessaries viz.,

(i) saṅghāti

(ii) the uttarāsaṅga

(iii) the antarāvāsa

(iv) niśidāna

(v) nivasana

(vi) prati-nivasana

(vii) sankakshika

(viii) prati-sankakshika

(ix) kaya-pronkhana

(x) mukhapankhara

(xi) kesapratigraha
(xii) kanduparatikkhandana
(xiii) bheshaga pariṣkāracivara

A monk is allowed to keep an extra piece of cloth, generally a silk cloth 20 feet long for procuring medicines during illness. In this connection, he particularly justifies even acceptance of silk-worms as gifts. If medicinal requisites are received as gifts, they should be preserved carefully in a special store-house[51].

Apart from food and clothing, as mentioned above, the Saṅgha even showed special consideration to learned monks by allocating to them the best rooms in a monastery as also servants[52] when they delivered discourses they are relieved of their monastic duties. For movement they were allowed sedan-chairs[53].

(xi) & (xii) : I-tsing[54] writes that in the vinaya, a monk is allowed to collect output of lands for the benefit of the Saṅgha. In course of time, daily begging of alms was not always resorted to. The lay-devotees donated lands or gardens for the maintenance of the Saṅgha. Such gifts are inalienable and were, as a rule, managed by an upāsaka. The gardens and lands were given for cultivation to different persons, who were faithful to the Saṅgha. I-tsing observed at Tāmralipti that the cultivator divided the vegetables into three portions and donated one portion to the Saṅgha. At Nālandā, he came to know that 200 villages were donated to the Saṅgha of the Nālandā monastery by generations of kings[55].

I-tsing enumerates the various articles of gifts which are either divisible or indivisible. Among the latter are lands, houses, village gardens and buildings. Among cattle, only bulls and sheep are to be retained by the Saṅgha as its indivisible property but all other quadrupeds like elephants, horses, mules, asses and to be given away to the royal household[56].

Precious stones, gems and such other valuable presents are also indivisible among monks but it is divided into two halves, of which one is conserved for the use of the Saṅgha and the other for pious works, like copying of scriptures constructing a temple and so forth. Gold, silver, wrought or unwrought goods and coins are divided into three portions, for the Triratna, Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. The portion for Buddha is utilised in repairing temples and stūpas containing holy relics of Buddha; the second for Dharma is meant for copying of scriptures and decorating the lion's seat, while the third for the Saṅgha as well as sale-proceeds of chain inlaid with jewels are to be distributed among the resident monks.

Prof. Jacquees Garnet who has made an exhaustive study of the economic aspects of Buddhism remarks that "at an epoch contemporaneous with China, the monks of India, Central Asia and South-East Asia were strictly observant of the vinaya rules. At a later date, in China and the Mahāyānists of Central Asia took up the direct management of wealth and property of the Saṅgha."

It seems from the inscriptions discovered at Niya, Endere and Lou-Lan that they made certain relaxations on the lines of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. Hiuen Tsang[58] incidentally remarks that he noticed the monks of this region were not strictly observant of the vinaya rules and regulations. The Inscription No. 489[59] discovered at Niya testifies to the fact that the monks were not very diligent in observing the vinaya rules, and that the kings used to intervene and direct the monks to observe the rules (Kriyākāra) framed by the Head of the Saṅgha. He commended that Silaprabha and Pumnasena were to be recognised as the leaders of the Saṅgha. He further prescribed fines for certain laches of the monks e.g. (a) whichever monk does not follow the activities of the monks shall pay a roll of silk (yo bhichu saṁgakarani na anuvartayati tasa dadava paṭa 1)[60], (b) whichever monk does not take part in the uposatha ceremony shall pay a fine

of one roll of silk (yo bhichu posathakamaya nānuvarteyati tasya daṁda paṭa 1)[61] (c) whichever monk at the invitations to the uposatha ceremony enters in householder's dress shall pay a fine of one roll of silk, (yo bhichu posatha kama nimamtresu grihasta cod'ina pravisayati tasa daṁdavo paṭa 1)[62] (d) whichever monk strikes another monk in case light shall pay five rolls of silk (yo bichu bhich'usya prahara deyati mṛduka paṭa 4 1)[63] in case of moderate shall pay 10 rolls of silk, in case of excessive 15 rolls of silk (madya paṭa dasa 10 asimatra paṁcadasa 10 4 1)[64].

The mention of a bhikkhu coming in layman's dress implies that the monks did not observe strictly the rules of putting on only civaras.

The inscription No. 511[65] discovered at Niya quotes the long text from a Stotra composed for the ceremony of the worship of ganottama i.e. Buddha. This stotra deals with the doctrine of Buddhism. Incidentally it is mentioned in this inscription that the monks who are pure in conduct could remain within the Bhikkhu-Saṅgha and those who were not pure in conduct were to be looked upon as outside the Saṅgha (bahirdhā saṅgha). This stotra did not deal specifically with monastic life as has been taken by Mr. R. C. Agarwala[66].

In his translation of the Khoraṣṭhi inscriptions Prof. Burrow[67] made no distinction between a sramana, a sramanera and a bhikkhu. All these terms have been translated indiscriminately by the words, monks or priest. Prof. Agarwala has also followed Prof. Burrow's translations without distinguishing the special terms bhikṣu, saṅgha, saṅghathera, sramanera and sramana[68]. It may be noted that the term sramana-saṅgha is nowhere to be found sramanas however conveying different significance[69]. We are told that it has been a practice with the lay Buddhist in almost all the Buddhists countries to become a bhikkhu or a sramanera for a few days in a monastery. He may be a family man of any age with sons and daughters. After the period of novitiate he returned to the household life. They

are generally distinguished as upāsakas and upāsikas. Some of these upāsakas and upāsikas take the option of residing for sometime in a monastery and called themselves as sramanas with the religious name given to him during the period of his noviciate. In the Chinese translation of the vinaya texts as also in the Pāli vinayas it is noted that all the economic affairs of the monastery are to be left in charge of the upāsakas or sramanas who could handle gold and silver and look after the gardens and lands. While living in the monastery, their main function was to look after the monks of the monasteries and of the necessaries of life, particularly food and clothing. We have seen before that they were in charge of all akappiyas i.e., gifts made to the Saṅgha but could not be accepted or touched by the bhikṣus. Among the 'akappiya' there is mention of the gifts of slaves, cattle, valuables for investment and so. Whatever thus appears in the inscriptions of Niya, Lou-Lan and Endere about (a) marriages of sons and daughters (b) sale and purchase of slave and cattle (c) investing money or loans with interests as mentioned in the Documents No. (a) 418, 655, 419, 471, 621, (b) 358, 506, 345 (c) 500, 502, 604[70]. were effected by the lay-devotees or sramanas for the benefit of the Saṅgha. The function of such sramanas should therefore not to be taken into account while considering life of the Central Asian monks.

Lastly, I cannot, however, subscribe to the view of Mr. Agarwala when he writes about the life of the Central Asian monks as "they (monks) were occupied in all sorts of worldly affairs indulged in luxuries followed a number of secular professions, kept slaves and led lives quite unworthy of a sramana"[71].

FOOTNOTES

1. *Epigraphica Indica,* Vol. VII, p. 64.
2. *Ibid,* Vol. III, p. 82 ff.
3. *Ibid,* Vol. VIII, p. 90 ff.
4. *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India,* No. 66, pp. 15-16.
5. 1 piculs 133 lbs.
6. 1 cotty 150 lbs.
7. A set of three robes, bowl, bed and medicines.
8. By ariya-puggala is meant the bhikkhus, who have reached the eight stages of sanctification (4 maggas and 4 phalas).
9. *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India,* No. 66, p. 81.
10. Vinaya Piṭaka Vol. II, Cullavagga VI. 20.
11. *Ibid,* Vol. I. M. VIII, 8.
    Ibid, Vol. II, C. VI. 21. 2.
12. Mahāvagga VIII. 5et seq. Cullavagga VI. 21. 2.
13. Cullavagga VI. 21. 3.
14. *Ibid,* VI. 21. 3.
15. *Mahāvagga* VIII, 9.
16. Cullavagga VI. 21. 2.
17. *Ibid,* VI. 21. 2.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid,* VI. 21. 3.
20. *Ibid,* VI. 4. 3 ; VI. 21. 2.
21. *Ibid,* VI. 5, 17, X. 24.
22. Dr. N. Dutt. *Early Monastic Buddhism,* Vol. I, p. 245.
23. Bhikkhuni Vibhaṅga pārājikā 1. 1.
24. *Mahāvagga,* VI. 15, *Cullavagga* VI. 21. 3, VIII 3. 2.
25. *Cullavagga* 21. 3.
26. Vinaya Piṭaka Vol. II, p. 147, 164.
27. Sri Bidhusekhar Bhattacharya, *Pātimokkha,* p. 75
28. Par. M. Louis Finot. Texte Sanskrit, Le Pratimoksa Sutra Des Sarvāstivādins, p. 38.
29. Vinaya Piṭaka, Vol. III, p. 236.
30. *Ibid,* Vol. III, pp. 239-40.
31. *Ibid,* pp. 240-242.
32. Pañc'imāni bhikkhave avissajjiyani na vissajjetabbani saṁghen vā ganena vā puggalena vā, vissjjitani pi avissajjitani honti, yo vissajjeyya apatti thullaccayassa, katamāni pañca, ārāmo ārāmāvatthu, idam pathamam avissajjiyam na vissajjetabhaṃ saṁgheṇa

vā ganena vā puggalena vā vissajjitam pi avissajjitam hoti, yo vissajjeya āpatti thullacayassa, vihāro vihāra vatthu, idam dutiyam........ mañca pitam bhisi bimbohanam, idam tatiyam.........loha kumbhi, lohabhānakam, lohavāraka lohakataham vasi pharasu kuthari kuddalo nikhadanam, idam catuttham.........valli velu munjababbajam tinam mattika darubhaṇḍam mattika bhaṇḍam, idam pañcamam... ......imāni kho bhikkhave pañca avissajjiyani.........apatti thullaccayassati."

Cullvagga VI, 15.2.

33. Jacques Garnet. *Les Aspects Economique du Buddhisme*, p. 64.
34. *Ibid*, p. 150.
35. *Ibid*, p. 152.
36. *Ibid*, p. 152.
37. *Ibid*, p. 154.

38(a) Khuvaneṁci bhichusaṅga cadoti bhichusaṁgasya Kriyakāra pranapta sruyati navak bh (broken).

(b) Vṛdhasya na śrota mamnati vṛdha ratu bhichu abhomata hutamti udisa devaputren bhichusaṅgasya

(c) Puratha eta kriyakāra pranpta vṛdha śilaprabha pumnasena vihāravala ete saṁgsya

(d) Saṁgakarani kartavya yathā dhamena pruchidavo yo bhichusaṁgakarani sarva edesa

(e) Yena bhichusaṁga atamamna bhaveyati yo bhichusaṁgakarani na anuvartayati tasa

(f) Dadava paṭa 1 yo bhichu posathakamaya nānuvarteyati tasy daṁda paṭa 1 yo bhichu kama nimamtresu grihasta codina pravisayti tasa daṁdadavo paṭa 1 yo bhichu bhichusya prahara

(g) deyati mṛduka paṭa 4 1 madya paṭa dasa 10 asimatra pañcadasa 10 4 1 (Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions discovered by Sir A Stein in Chinese Turkestan, Oxford, 1929, volx. II, p.176)

39. *Ibid*, p. 201.
40. J. Takakusu. A record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago by I-tsing, pp. 95-107.
41. It is to be noted that Buddha relaxed the rule in favour of the monks living in the frontier countries to five instead of ten as was usually the case.
42. J. Takakusu. A record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago by I-tsing, pp. 21-30.
43. *Ibid*, pp. 35-52.

44. *Ibid*, pp. 88.
45. Loc. cit
46. *Ibid*, pp. 85-91.
47. *Ibid*, p. 89.
48. *Ibid*, p. 21.
49. *Ibid*, p. 53.
50. *Ibid*, pp. 25-26.
51. *Ibid*, p. 192.
52. *Ibid*, p. 64.
53. *Ibid*, p. 64.
54. *Ibid*, pp. 61-63.
55. *Ibid*, p. 65.
56. *Ibid*, p. 191.
57. Jacques Garnet, *Les Aspects Economique du Bouddhisme*, pp. 74-75.
58. Watters. On Yuan Chwang, Vol. II, p. 293.
59. Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan transcribed and edited by A. M. Boyer, E. G. Rapson and E. Senart, Part II, p. 176.
60. Burrow. T., A Translation of the Kharoṣṭhi Documents from Chinese Turkestan, 1940, London, p. 95.
61. Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan transribed and edited by A. M. Boyer, E. G. Rapson and E. Senart, Part II, p. 176.
62. *Ibid*, p. 176.
63. *Ibid*, p. 175.
64. *Ibid*, p. 176.
65. *Ibid.*
66. Ratna Chandra Agarwala, M.A. *Life of Buddhist Monks in Chinese Turkestan.* Reprinted from Sarupa Bharati, p. 129.
67. Burrow T., *A Translation of the Kharoṣṭhi Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, 1940, London,
68. *Ibid.*
69. For details see Dr. A. C. Banerjee's *Sarvāstivāda Literature*, pp. 108-109.
70. Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan transcribed and edited by A. M. Boyer, E. G. Rapson and E. Senart, Part I, II, III.
71. Ratna Chandra Agarwala, *Life of Buddhist Monks in Chinese Turkestan*, p. 2.

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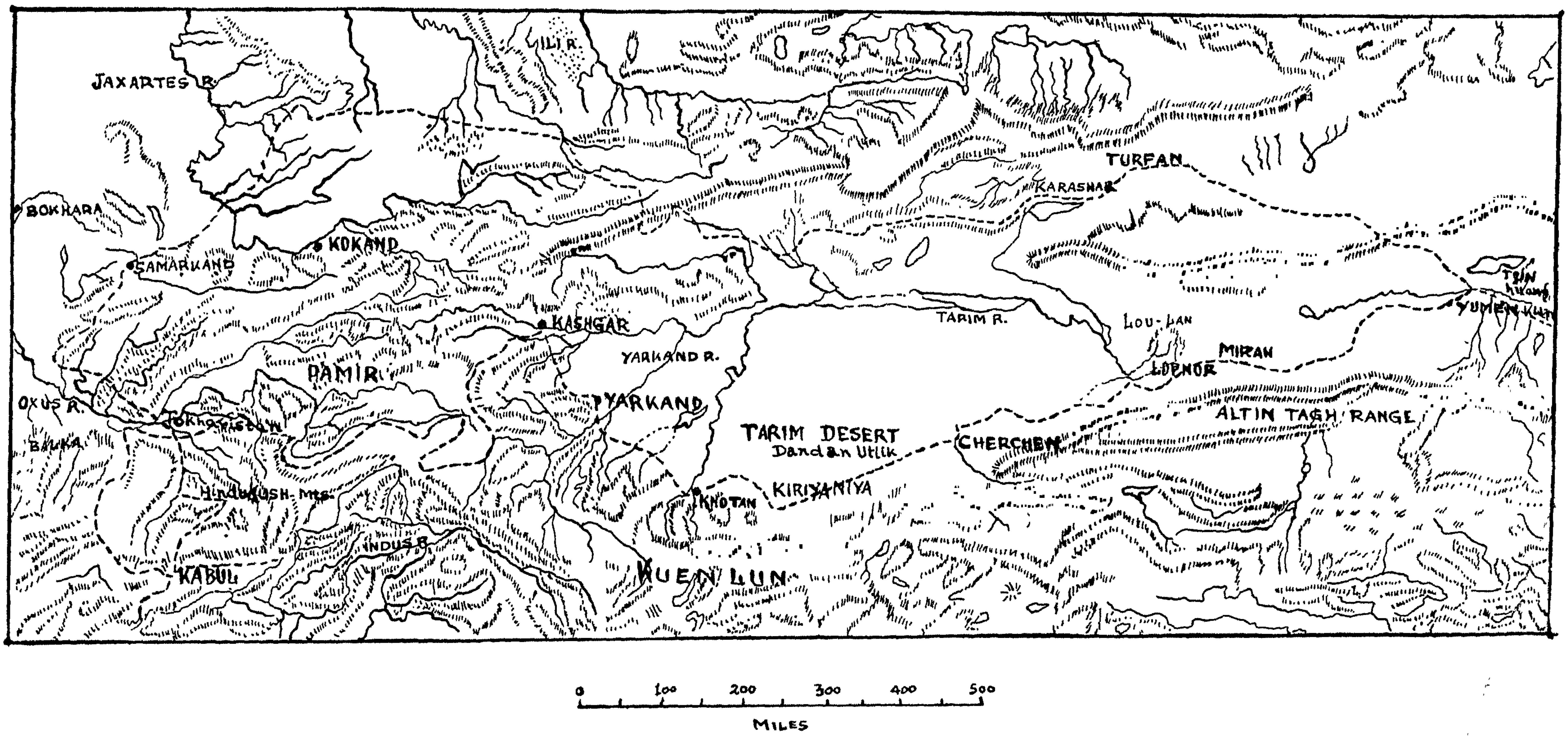
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